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SACRED STIMULUS

Jerusalem in the Visual Christianization of Rome



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To my family



Micha Ullman, "Seconda Casa, Gerusalemme-Roma-Gerusalemme", basalt, 45×15 cm, 1 cm deep, Piazza di Monte Savello, Rome. Photo: Author

Preface

“Seconda Casa, Gerusalemme-Roma-Gerusalemme” is the name of a “puddle sculpture” in the Piazza di Monte Savello in Rome, at the corner of the Via del Foro Olitorio. The 45 × 15 cm sculpture, made by the Israeli artist Micha Ullman in 2004, is a concave hourglass carved into the sidewalk’s basalt. When it is filled with rainwater, it reflects its surroundings, which were formerly part of the Jewish ghetto, established in 1555. When the water evaporates, the reflection, too, evaporates.

“Second Temple: Jerusalem-Rome-Jerusalem”—the English translation of the title—misses the double meaning contained in the Italian or Hebrew name. *Seconda Casa* represents the Hebrew *Bayit Sheni*, which, apart from the literal meaning “second house,” denotes the Second Temple of Jerusalem. Ullman’s use of “House” (*casa*) rather than “Temple” (*tempio*) is significant here because the hourglass is actually formed by two simple houses, their gabled roofs touching each other.

Unless one carefully looks for it or by chance sees the plate on a building on Via del Foro Olitorio, the small sculpture will most likely escape notice—not only because it is small, but also because it does not protrude from the ground. Micha Ullman calls these tiny indentations he makes “miniments.” In a city of great monuments, this humble miniment is quietly but forcefully in communication with another local monument combining Jerusalem and Rome: the Arch of Titus. Bearing a relief that represents the spoils taken from the Second Temple in Jerusalem, the Arch of Titus is the actual point of departure for this study, which examines the role of Jerusalem in the visual Christianization of Rome.

Personally, I am touched by Ullman’s miniment because I live and work in Jerusalem, but dream and write about Rome. Accordingly, I wish to begin my list of thanks with a statement of appreciation to Bianca Kühnel in Jerusalem and Hugo Brandenburg in Rome; she opened my eyes to the importance of

Jerusalem in the visual arts, and he guided me through some of the mysteries of *christliche Archäologie* in Rome. The combination has been my daily bread for over two decades.

Several people and institutions have assisted me throughout that period. I wish to thank the following foundations for their support: the Thyssen Foundation, the Israel Science Foundation, the Niedersachsen-Israeli Program financed by the State of Lower Saxony, and the Mandel Scholion Interdisciplinary Research Center in the Humanities and Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I am beyond grateful to the last named, which apart from financial support, including funding for all the illustrations, copyrights, and English editing, has surrounded me for the past five years with the finest colleagues and equipped me with the best working conditions that one could ask for. I have learned tremendously from the wisdom of the center's kind and generous director, Daniel R. Schwartz.

My very early attempts to write about the topic took place in Berlin. I cherish the library of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Berlin for spurring the original inspiration. Parts of the book were written years later, when I spent a semester in Hamburg. I am grateful to the University of Hamburg, especially to Bruno Reudenbach, and the university guesthouse, for providing me with a warm welcome and wonderful facilities. I shall always be thankful to Gerhard Rexin, of the F. J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn, for sending me materials I needed.

I am indebted to the following colleagues and friends who encouraged me and were a source of inspiration: Pnina Arad, Benjamin Arubas, Rina Guth, Michal Mussachy, Sarit Shalev-Eyni, and Yair Zakovitch in Israel, and Josef Engemann, Bruno Reudenbach, Hedwig Röckelein, Marianne Sághy, Vasiliki Tsamakda, Annette Waibel, and Franziska Wilcken abroad. Thanks are also due to all the scholars who generously sent me their publications on request, as well as those who patiently answered my questions and inquiries, especially Jutta Dresken-Weiland, Jan-Willem Drijvers, Stefan Heid, Leah Di Segni, Robert (Bob) Ousterhout, and Dennis Trout. Many thanks to Rina Avner, Fabrizio Bisconti, Hugo Brandenburg, Radoslav Buzancic, Manuel Castiñeiras, and Vincenzo Fiocchi Nicolai for allowing me to use their illustrations. I thank Uziah Kaplan (Mandel Scholion), Daria Lanzaolo (DAI Rome), and Rosanna Di Pinto (Vatican Museum) for being so helpful during the process of obtaining the copyrights and illustrations.

Ruth Clemens has turned my English into a readable book. I am extremely grateful for the comments and suggestions made by Jaś Elsner, Bianca Kühnel, Daniel R. Schwartz, and the anonymous readers of the press, who read earlier drafts of the manuscript. Still, all faults are completely mine.

Special thanks are due to Ralph Mathisen, who saw the potentially fruitful association between the beautiful and scholarly collection, *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, edited by Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly (2012), and the present book, and decided to include it in the same series. I wish also to thank the dedicated and professional staff at Oxford University Press.

Last but certainly not least, I owe debts of gratitude, time, and love to my husband, Ronnie, and our children, Yael and Itamar. This book is dedicated with love to my family, including my parents, my sisters, my brother-in-law, their children, and also to the memory of one family member we all terribly miss, Erez Loitner. He often spoke about visiting Rome for the first time with me as a guide, but did not live to see its beauty.

—Jerusalem, October 30, 2017

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers. 1946–
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CA	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series latina. Turnhout, 1953–
CELAMA	Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i>
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EOMIA	Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima
<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
FOTC	Fathers of the Church
GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICUR	Giovanni Battista de Rossi, <i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores</i> , 2 vols. (Rome: Libreria Pontificia 1857–1888)
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> . Edited by H. Dessau. 3 vols. in 5. Berlin, 1892–1916
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JACSup	Supplements to <i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>

<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JJA</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Art</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JLA</i>	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRASup</i>	Supplements to the <i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>JWarb</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> , London
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>MGH</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OrChrAn</i>	<i>Orientalia christiana analecta</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia graeca</i> [= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca</i>]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–1886
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia latina</i> [= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina</i>]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. Paris, 1844–1864
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia orientalis</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RBK</i>	<i>Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst</i>
<i>Rep. I</i>	<i>Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage</i> , Band 1, Rom und Ostia. Hrsg. Giuseppe Bovini, Hugo Brandenburg, Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967.
<i>Rep. II</i>	<i>Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage</i> , Band 2, Italien, Dalmatien, Museen der Welt. Mit einem Nachtrag Rom und Ostia Hrsg. Jutta Dresken-Weiland. Mainz: von Zabern, 1998

<i>Rep.</i> III	<i>Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage</i> , Band 3, Frankreich, Algerien, Tunesien. Hrsg. Brigitte Christern-Briesenick. Mainz: von Zabern, 2003
<i>RivAC</i>	<i>Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana</i>
<i>RM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archdeologischen Instituts: Romische Abteilung</i> —
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte</i>
<i>RQSup</i>	Supplements to <i>Römische Quartalschrift</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i>
<i>SNTSMS</i>	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
<i>STAC</i>	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
<i>STDJ</i>	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<i>TQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
<i>TSAJ</i>	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum / Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VCSup</i>	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZKG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

Sacred Stimulus



Plate 1. Gold-glass bottom, *Dominus legem dat*. Vatican Museum, Museo Sacro, inv. 60771. Photo: Vatican Museums.



Plate 2. Gold-glass bottom, *Dominus legem dat*. Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio. Purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 1967.12. Photo: Toledo Museum of Art.

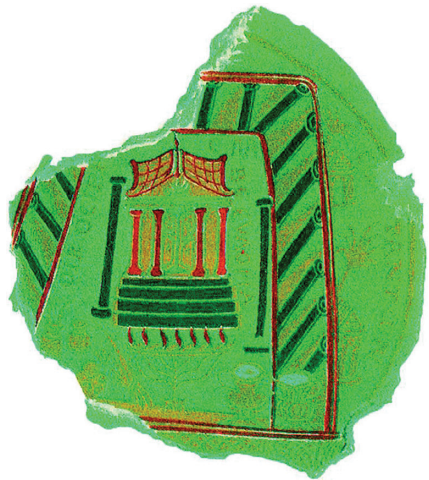
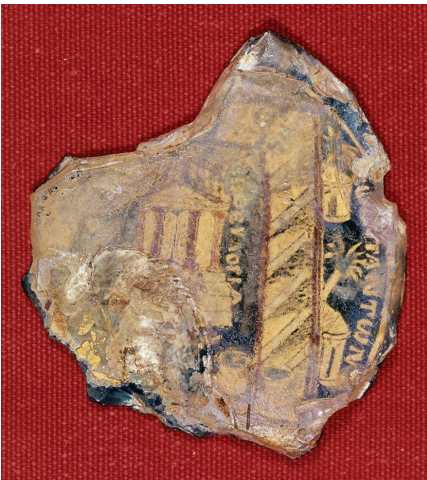


Plate 3 and Plate 4. Gold-glass bottom, festival of Sukkoth. Vatican Museum, Museo Sacro, inv. 60608. Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Reconstruction by Giovanni B. De Rossi, "Sur un verre coloré représentant le Temple de Jerusalem." *Bulletin d'archéologie chrétienne* n.s. 1 (1882): 141-163, pl. 7(1).



Plate 5. Wall painting in the upper catacomb of Villa Torlonia. Photo: Su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo.



Plate 6. Gold-glass bottom, Torah Ark and Menorot. Berlin, Museum für Byzantinische Kunst–Staatliches Museum zu Berlin, inv. no. J6700. © Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Photo: Priska Schilling.



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Plate 13. Reliquary box from Palestine. Vatican City, Museo Sacro, inv. 61883. Photo: Vatican Museums.



Plate 14. S. Pudenziana, apse mosaic. Reproduced with the permission of Ministero per I Beni e le Attività Culturali / Alinari Archives, Florence.



Plate 15. S. Stefano Rotondo, apse mosaic. Photo: Arnaldo Vescovo.



Plate 16. Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, mosaic of triumphal arch. Photo: DeA Picture Library, licensed by Alinari.

Introduction

For the stone shall cry out of the wall and the beam out of the timber shall answer it.

—Habakkuk 2:11.

AMONG THE PAGAN CITIES THAT WENT THROUGH “CONVERSION” TO Christianity in the fourth century, two were linked to Jerusalem by witness of stone and wood: Aelia Capitolina and Rome. The pagan identity of Aelia Capitolina—the Roman city founded by Hadrian in 135 CE on the ruins of Jerusalem—was exposed by the sanctuaries and statues of Roman deities erected in central places, notably, the Temple Mount. During the fourth century, however, the city was defined less and less by the presence of Jupiter’s temple and more and more by the absence of the Jewish Temple. This lack of a Jewish visual frame and physical medium was made more palpable by the looming constructions that now began to mark the sites of Christ’s Crucifixion and Resurrection. It was time to remember the Jewish past in order to construct a meaningful configuration of the New Jerusalem. But Rome itself had laid claim to Jerusalem’s Jewish past. It was home to the Temple spoils, transferred, or better, “translated” to the city by Titus in 71 CE. Whether they were kept in the city or later taken away, the Temple cult vessels were sculpted in stone, for all to see, on the Arch of Titus. Sometime in the fourth century, a relic of the True Cross was also translated from Jerusalem to Rome, turning Rome into the home of relics of both Old and New Jerusalem.

Sacred objects traveling the corridor from Jerusalem to Rome form part of the present study, which focuses on Jerusalem as a stimulator of the visual Christianization of Rome. Other parts include visual reactions to Jerusalemite traditions as well as representations of Jerusalem in early Christian Rome. But before I elaborate on the content of my study, a justification for yet another book on the visual conversion of Rome is required. After all, the visual aspects of this process, that is, the development of early Christian art and architecture, has been investigated and analyzed for so long, from so many angles and perspectives; archaeologists and art historians have explored church architecture and decorative programs in detail, along with funerary art, illuminated manuscripts, and portable objects. The result is a wide-ranging and complicated picture of a city in transition—its patrons and rituals, its civic and religious politics.

It would be tedious to review the vast literature on this wide-ranging subject; some of these studies will make their appearance in the course of this book. Most studies have delved into the changes, evaluating and comparing the old and new, and also tracing the afterlife of the older Roman forms between 300 and 700 CE. In his magnum opus *Roma Christiana* (1976), Charles Piétri concentrated on almost all aspects of the Christianization of late ancient Rome in the period from 311 to 440—including archaeology, art, and liturgy—with special emphasis on the episcopacy of Damasus (366–384).¹ With one exception, S. Stefano Rotondo, dated in the second half of the fifth century, the present book targets the same material culture and more or less the same time span. These years embrace the unripe beginnings of Christianity in Rome: the search for Christian identity, including visual and institutional forms and formats; and the earliest efforts toward the claim of Petrine primacy—that is, the concept of the precedence of the Roman bishop over other bishops in leading Christian centers, especially Constantinople.² This book's main concern, however, is different and has rarely been dealt with before. This concern is the role played by earthly Jerusalem in the innovative visual constructions of local Roman Christian myth and tradition. Let me explain.

The impact of Jerusalem on late antique Christian art and architecture in Rome has in the past been studied under two rubrics, relating to and relying on Jerusalem as the place where heaven and earth conjoin. The first rubric was the recognition of the influence of the Holy Sepulchre on medieval architecture; Richard Krautheimer's study of S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome, built in the second half of the fifth century, was the point of departure.³ He proposed that the rotunda in Rome was dependent on the earthly model in Jerusalem and that the linkage carried a commemorative content associated with the (empty) tomb of Christ. The second rubric was that of two-dimensional representations of Jerusalem in medieval art. Bianca Kühnel's monograph on representations

1. Charles Piétri, *Roma Christiana: Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie, de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1976).

2. For the development of the doctrine of Petrine primacy, see recently George E. Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter: Apostolic Discourse and Papal Authority in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

3. Richard Krautheimer, "Santo Stefano rotondo a Roma e la chiesa del Santo Sepolcro a Gerusalemme," *RivAC* 12 (1935): 51–103; in English in Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 69–106. For his later modifications of his proposal, see below, chapter 4, n. 80. Krautheimer's study of S. Stefano developed into his classic study, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33, where the Holy Sepulchre was his model. Yet it was Hartmann Grisar, *Analecta Romana: Dissertazioni, testi, monumenti dell'arte riguardanti principalmente la storia di Roma e dei papi nel medio evo* (Rome: Desclée Lefebvre, 1899), 556–568, who was probably the first to suggest a connection between the plan of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme and the complex of the Holy Sepulchre.

of Jerusalem in the first millennium established the parameters of research in this area. She analyzed the role of earthly Jerusalem in the depiction of heavenly Jerusalem, presenting the apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana in Rome (402–417) as the earliest example.⁴ I will discuss images of Jerusalem, in architecture and mosaic decoration, in the last chapter, but most of this book is about how Jerusalem stimulated artistic formulae in Rome without being present per se: I consider the role of earthly Jerusalem as a conception that Rome used, or had to take into account, in constructing its own new Christian ideological and cultural topography of the past.

Theoretically, emerging Christian Rome could have reset its “historical chronometer” at zero with Constantine’s triumph at the Milvian Bridge, or with his Edict of Tolerance.⁵ This would have emphasized the primacy of the Christian ruler and city over whatever had come before. The alternative would have been to forge links to the historical Christian past by creating an illusion of historical continuity with that past.⁶ In fact, it is this second possibility that actually occurred, and it turned out to be more effective in the long run. The Roman Christians constituted themselves as a mnemonic community by constructing bridges to the local past of the persecuted Church as well as to the biblical past in Palestine.

The visual forms and devices that made up these bridges between past and present, that helped the community acquire, define, and shape social identity, are of interest here. The use of images to help the community assimilate this new local identity is at the heart of the present study. I argue that the concept and presence of Jerusalem in the East stimulated and affected the creation of these images and consequently helped to shape the collective memory of early Christian Rome.

Why Jerusalem? Because, as Jonathan Z. Smith explains in one short sentence, “in Jerusalem, story, ritual, and place could be one.”⁷ Jerusalem, or the Holy Land itself, for that matter, was the only place where Christ ever lived. He was active there in the past; the holy sites keep alive the memory of his activity and the events related to him; and most significantly, this is the place to which he will return in the future. The exceptional stature of Jerusalem has not prevented scholars from positioning and evaluating Roman Christian art and architecture

4. Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium*, RQSup 42 (Rome: Herder, 1987).

5. Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 91.

6. Zerubavel., 2–3.

7. Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 86.

of the fourth and fifth centuries in relation to the parallel artistic activity in Constantinople. Indeed, recollection and the structures of social memory in our minds are often positioned vis-à-vis other (possibly multiple) events and places.⁸ Thus, an artistic connection between Rome and Constantinople makes sense, especially since the new capital was itself positioned as “New Rome.”⁹ In order to stake its claim to be the head of the Church, however, Rome had to overcome another, much more complicated obstacle as well: Jerusalem.

The Roman Church could not live with the Holy City, but neither could it live without it: Jerusalem was the cornerstone of the Christological narrative. Moreover, Rome’s first bishop, Peter, took on his first leadership role in Jerusalem.¹⁰ Apart from his role as one of Christ’s premier disciples, Peter headed the community of believers in Jerusalem after Christ’s Ascension to heaven (Acts 1–4). Precisely because of these connections, Jerusalem’s history and prestige stood in the way of Rome’s claim to primacy. I believe this obstacle imposed a polemical silence on the Roman Church, so that, although no textual sources describe or even mention Jerusalem as the impediment to Roman primacy, the contested capital Constantinople constantly reappears; hence the scholarly attention. The visual sources, as will be argued here, attest to a similar reservation concerning Jerusalem, except that they reveal more than they conceal about the contested Christian roots.

A sociologist who adopts a cognitive approach is liberated from trying to figure out what actually happened in the past; instead, he or she observes and analyzes how the event or series of events was registered and organized, and how it maintained itself in the collective memory.¹¹ As an art historian, I will adopt this methodological perspective, in order to shuffle the visual frames of early Christian Rome so as to tease out how these compositions and constructions registered, organized, and maintained their relevance in the collective cultural memory of the Roman citizens. Like the sociologist who focuses on the cognitive construction of memory, I will use two selective strategies: First, I will focus on the role of Jerusalem—even though it was clearly not the only player on the stage, and was often behind the scenes—in motivating the innovative visual formulae and compositions that appeared in Rome as it was being Christianized. Second, I will use, as far as possible, visual rather than textual evidence to support my argument that apart from Constantinople, the Roman

8. Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 7.

9. See most recently, Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly, eds., *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

10. See most recently, Demacopoulos, *Invention of Peter*.

11. Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 2–5.

Church also needed to confront the idea of Jerusalem during the fourth century. Visual rhetoric can help us to see the absence of words and decipher the presence of silence.¹²

Apart from the visual records, attestations and clues, historical personae and events, as well as religious politics, will appear in this study when they are connected to the formation and formulation of Roman art related to the Rome-Jerusalem connection. The translation of Jerusalemite relics to Rome, and the efforts of the Roman See to define the local holy sites by inscribing in stone, and in situ, the local Christian past, are but two examples of such historical facts and factors. I shall intentionally neglect, almost completely, the ongoing political and theological conflicts in Rome and, likewise, those in other locations with which Rome was involved. I will pass over special events, such as the sack of Rome in 410 (and again in 417), and even over the literary production related to this—that is, Augustine’s *City of God*.¹³ In contrast, the Apparition of the Cross in Jerusalem, reported by Cyril of Jerusalem in a letter to Emperor Constantius II (351 CE), and the attempt of Julian the Apostate to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem (r. 361–363),¹⁴ will be shown—for the first time—to have had visual consequences in Rome.

Constantinople, as well as other cities, underwent “conversion” at the same time as Rome and Jerusalem, and under the same emperor(s). Obviously, the three capitals—the biblical one, the old imperial one in the West, and the new replacement in the East—should be studied together. Positioning two cities at the ends of the line, actually the ends of a vector, rather than posing all three at the points of a triangle, is motivated here by the basic fact that Constantinople had no biblical past. Constantine was indeed aware of this and compensated for it by initiating the earliest translation of relics to the new capital, a transfer completed only after his death. He planned to import the relics of the apostles, as he had done with pagan and imperial cult objects.¹⁵ Rome, on the other hand, had two native holy sites, the tombs of Peter and Paul, known and recognized

12. For the presence of silence and the absence of words as rhetorical art, see Cheryl Glenn, *Unspoken: A Rhetoric of Silence* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004), 4–9.

13. All of these are relevant to the observation and study of early Christian art and architecture in Rome, but all have already been studied at length. The most comprehensive study is that of Piétri, *Roma Christiana*.

14. See Cyril of Jerusalem, *ad Constantius*, English translation in Edward Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem* (London: Routledge, 2000), 68–70; Julian, *Ep. 51 To the Jews*, in his *Works*, trans. W. C. Wright, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1923), 3:176–181; Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10.38–40, ed. Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen, GCS n.s. 9 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903), 997.

15. Cyril Mango, “Constantine’s Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics,” *BZ* 83 (1990): 51–62, 434.

from at least the second century.¹⁶ This was a required criterion for entry into the contest for the primacy. This criterion is also at the heart of the selective focus here: I argue that in the fourth century, Rome already desired to be of equal sacred status with Jerusalem, in order to establish itself as the superior see.

The choice to orient this study toward Jerusalem instead of Constantinople does not necessarily imply a contradiction of earlier work. On the contrary, the Jerusalemite perspective will enrich the complex picture we have thus far of the genesis of Christian visual formulations in Rome.

Traffic along the vector from Jerusalem to Rome was sparse before the fourth century and narrowed afterward. The first two arrivals were Peter and Paul, at the time when Nero was the emperor. The two apostles were martyred in the city and buried there. Shortly afterward, in 71 CE, Flavius Josephus arrived in Rome together with the triumphant commander Titus, Emperor Vespasian's son. During the triumphal procession as reported by Josephus, the Temple spoils from Jerusalem were exhibited to the Romans; they were later kept in the Temple of Peace and in the palace of the Flavian emperor.¹⁷ The next time we can presume a translation of sacred objects from Jerusalem to Rome is in the fourth century, when a church was built within the complex of the Sessorian Palace in honor of the relic of the True Cross. The church was named *Hierusalem* (later Santa Croce in Gerusalemme) in honor of the relic, brought to the city by Constantine or another member of the imperial family.¹⁸ Thus there was an interval of three centuries between these two importations. From the fifth century onward, additional relics of the True Cross were translated to Rome, as well as other relics.¹⁹

The imported objects added landmarks to the sacred landscape and consequently made an impact on the visual art and architecture in the city, as much as and more than that of the Temple spoils centuries earlier, when they left their imprint (or rather relief) on Titus's triumphal arch. The combination of Jerusalemite sacred mementos with the local martyrs' *memoriae* made Rome

16. See Giorgio Filippi, "La tomba dell'Apostolo Paolo: Nuovi dati dai recenti scavi. Notizie storiche e archeologiche," in *Paulo Apostolo Martyri: Lapostolo San Paolo nella storia, nell'arte e nell'archeologia*, edited by Ottavio Bucarelli and Martín M. Morales (Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2011), 97–117. See also the review and interpretation of the finds by Hugo Brandenburg in *RQ* 107 (2012): 137–144, esp. 139–142.

17. Flavius Josephus, *B.J.* 7.148–162; *Flavius Josephus: The Complete Works*, ed. and trans. H. St. J. Thackeray et al., 9 vols., LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926–1965), 3:549.

18. Sible de Blaauw, "Gerusalemme a Roma e il culto della Croce," in *Gerusalemme a Roma: La Basilica di Santa Croce e le reliquie della Passione*, edited by Roberto Cassanelli and Emilia Stolfi, *Storia dell'arte* 54 (Rome: Jaca Books, 2012), 27–39.

19. Anatole Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix: Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1961), nos. 17, 20, 23.

comparable to Jerusalem. It is important to note that it was during the second half of the fourth century, at the time of Pope Damasus, when most of the martyrs' tombs were identified and labeled with their names. He placed in the catacombs monumental marble blocks inscribed with poems relating to specific martyrs. Like signposts, these, too, mapped the sacred topography of Rome outside the city walls, along the roads leading to and from the city, suggesting a system of sacred stations.²⁰ As I will argue in the last chapter, once the cult of the martyrs was firmly established and the sacred Christian shrines projected onto the pilgrimage map of Rome, additional Jerusalemite relics were welcomed and Jerusalem was represented out in the open.

Because there are barely any literary sources from the fourth century that give evidence of the Jerusalemite factor, it is important to read the innovative visual examples as evidence in themselves. It is the cumulative effect of multiple representations that demonstrates the extent to which Jerusalem stimulated local Roman visual language. The examples collected here are not new; they have been discussed separately and together in the past, but not necessarily seen through the Jerusalemite prism. The rich variety of media, frames, and content, however, will clearly show that textual expression was not a necessary condition for constructing the social and cultural memory of the Roman mnemonic community, as transmitted from one generation to the next. The visual vocabulary discussed here gives us an alternative (Jerusalemite) access point to the mnemonic efforts and intentions conceived while Rome "converted" to Christianity.

This book focuses on the visible tactics practiced and projected in public forums, using specific forms and formats as well as ideological filters. The initiator or patron responsible for these creative efforts in most cases was either from the imperial family, the Church, or both. The visual traditions initiated and crystallized by the emperors and the Church during the fourth and fifth centuries framed and fed social and cultural memory in Rome. Indeed, it is the symbols in the public sphere, and the organization of time, that structure

20. See recently, Gitte Lønstrup Dal Santo, "Rite of Passage: On Ceremonial Movements and Vicarious Memories (Fourth Century CE)," in *The Moving City: Processions, Passages, and Promenades in Ancient Rome*, ed. Ida Ostenberg, Simon Malmberg, and Jonas Bjørnebye (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), chap. 12; Marianne Sághy, "Renovatio memoriae: Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome," in *Rom in der Spätantike: Historische Erinnerung im städtischen Raum*, ed. Ralf Behrwald and Christian Witschel (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012), 251–267; Sághy, "The Bishop of Rome and the Martyrs," in *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity*, ed. Geoffrey D. Dunn (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015), 37–55; Dennis Trout, *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Gianluca Pilara and Massimiliano Ghilardi, *La città di Roma nel pontificato di Damaso (366–384): Vicende storiche e aspetti archeologici* (Rome: Aracne, 2010); Ursula Reutter, *Damasus: Bischof von Rom (366–384)*, STAC 55 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

the memory of the community.²¹ This book brings to the fore architectural constructions and monumental decorations as well as specific public personae. Nevertheless, portable objects will not be neglected. They help to illuminate the *Zeitgeist* and indicate, like a seismograph, the public (atmo-) sphere suggested by the monuments. The same is true for sarcophagi. Although most were buried underground,²² their decorative programs, on view during funerals, reflect local community aspirations.

The earliest Jerusalemite artifacts still visible in Rome today are the Temple spoils, sculptured on the Arch of Titus. It is for this reason that the first chapter of this study begins with the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem and the arrival of the Temple spoils in Rome, and continues with the arrival of the relic of the True Cross and its deposition in the church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. As I will argue in the second and third sections of the first chapter, the presence of the sacred Jerusalemite objects in Rome, along with the tombs of Peter and Paul, was the basis for and made an impact on the leading artistic formulae practiced in Rome during the second half and especially the last quarter, of the fourth century.

The second chapter is not about transformation and assimilation of objects, but about movable traditions. It will be argued, with the help of artifacts, especially sarcophagi, that Jerusalemite narratives traveled the corridor and reached Rome with or prior to the Legend of the Finding of the True Cross. This famous legend, which was most likely originally composed in Jerusalem, is first recorded by Ambrose of Milan in his funeral oration for Emperor Theodosius (395) and was probably also known in Rome.²³ As this chapter will demonstrate, other Jerusalemite traditions—particularly those of the Apparition of the Cross over Jerusalem and the location of the Miracle of the Lame Man—evoked reactions

21. For “mnemonic battles fought in public forums,” see Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 4–8. For the significance of institutional tradition in creating and maintaining cultural memory, see Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung, und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: Beck, 1992); English translation: *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich: Beck, 1999; 3rd ed., 2006); English translation: *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). On political and cultural memory, see A. Assmann, “Reframing Memory: Between Individual and Collective Forms of Constructing the Past,” in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, ed. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 35–50.

22. Jutta Dresken-Weiland, *Sarkophagbestattungen des 4.–6. Jhs. im Westen des Römischen Reiches*, RQSuppl. 55 (Freiburg: Herder, 2003).

23. Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii*, 40–47, in *Sancti Ambrosii opera VII*, edited by Otto Faller, CSEL 73 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1955), 393–396.

in the city of Peter and Paul; these are reflected between the artistic lines rather than in the written word.

After two chapters dealing with the art in Rome during the second half of the fourth century, which treat Jerusalem as a kind of mysterious muse, the third chapter elaborates on the construction of *loca sancta* in Rome itself. The first and third sections focus on two sites of memory constructed before and after the episcopacy of Damasus: the Basilica Apostolorum and San Paolo fuori le mura (St. Paul Outside the Walls) respectively. The second section compares the deeds of Damasus in Rome with the efforts of Cyril, the contemporary bishop in the physical landscape of the original *loca sancta*—that is, Jerusalem. The final section, focusing on the casket from Samagher (ca. 440), is dedicated to the dynamic of Rome as a destination for pilgrimage, producing portable art directly connected with the local sacred landscape, more or less a century earlier than a similar dynamic is traceable in Palestine.

As noted earlier, the last chapter is built around fifth-century representations of Jerusalem in Rome. The polemic reservations, hints, and visual metaphors described in the first two chapters are gone; rather, a picture of earthly Jerusalem, a Roman icon of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and a Roman construction recalling the Holy Sepulchre are all part of the fifth-century repertoire. Jerusalem, it will be argued, was visually welcomed in Rome once Rome felt safe and secure regarding its own sacred Christian dimensions. Paraphrasing Richard Krautheimer's famous quip—"As Rome turned ever more Christian, the Church turned Roman"—the fourth chapter shows that, as Rome turned ever more Christian, the Church turned toward Jerusalem. Even as more bridges were constructed to the local Christian past, the Roman mnemonic community used representations of Jerusalem in the public sphere to construct a broader, more universal cultural memory in order to enhance and extend its contemporary and future dominance.

Let us begin our journey by escorting the artefacts translated from Jerusalem to Rome.

From Jerusalemite Spoils to Roman Relics

THIS CHAPTER, COMPOSED IN THREE SECTIONS THAT COMPLETE ONE another, deals with the direct and indirect impact of the nonexistence of the Temple in Jerusalem on the art and architecture in fourth-century Rome. The first section brings together the translation of sacred objects from old (Jewish) and new (Christian) Jerusalem to Rome. The second illustrates how the visual initiative of *Dominus legem dat* (The Lord gives the Law) was conceivable through the absence of the Temple in Jerusalem and the presence of its relics in Rome. The third section describes the visual correspondence between the scene of *Dominus legem dat* and the representative Jewish composition of the ark between two *menorot*, as an outcome of Emperor Julian's failed attempt to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem.

FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS TO SANTA CROCE IN GERUSALEMME

The spoils in general were borne in promiscuous heaps; but conspicuous above all stood out those captured in the Temple of Jerusalem. These consisted of a golden table, many talents in weight, and a lampstand, likewise made of gold, but constructed on a different pattern from those which we use in ordinary life. Affixed to a pedestal was a central shaft, from which there extended slender branches, arranged trident-fashion, a wrought lamp being attached to the extremity of each branch; of these there were seven, indicating the honour paid to that number among the Jews. After these, and last of all the spoils, was carried a copy of the Jewish Law.¹

So writes Flavius Josephus in his eyewitness account of Titus's triumphal procession in 71 CE; he is describing the spoils of war taken by Titus from the Temple in Jerusalem some months earlier as they are being paraded publicly through the city of Rome. After the procession, the gold vessels were eventually deposited in Vespasian's Temple of Peace, and the scroll of the law and the purple veil of the sanctuary were stored in the imperial palace. The Temple of Peace, Josephus says, was speedily built after the triumphal ceremonies were concluded.² Situated parallel to the Forum of Augustus, it was dedicated in 75 CE. The name referred to the end of (the civil and the Jewish) war, and the structure functioned as a

1. Flavius Josephus, *B.J.* 7.148–150, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, LCL, 3:549.

2. *B.J.* 7.158–162.

public space for exhibitions.³ Some of the objects on display had been looted earlier by Nero, and some, like the “vessels of gold from the Temple of the Jews,” were the pride of the Flavian dynasty.⁴

The Jerusalem spoils were treasured in Rome, as one can tell from the public references. The contemporary sources vary: coins proclaiming *IUDAEA CAPTA*, showing a Jewess mourning or Jewish captives or both, were issued by Vespasian and minted in large numbers by Titus as well. Even Domitian, Titus’s brother and the last Flavian Emperor (81–96 CE), issued *IUDAEA CAPTA* coins fifteen years after the event and continued their distribution.⁵ At the beginning of his epic poem *Argonautica*, the poet Valerius Flaccus (d. ca. 90 CE) referred to the reign of the Flavians by mentioning the apotheosis of Vespasian and the war in Judea.⁶ Early in 81 CE, a little over a decade after the end of the war, a triumphal arch was erected in the Circus Maximus. It did not survive, but its foundations were recently found; excavations thus far indicate that it was a triple-bay arch.⁷ Its monumental inscription was recorded by an early medieval monk, most likely from Fulda, who made a pilgrimage to Rome sometimes in the ninth century:

The Senate and People of Rome to Imp(erator) Titus Caesar Vespasianus,
son of the Deified Vespasianus, *pontifex maximus*, with *tribunicia potestas*

3. See Eva Margareta Steinby, ed., *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 6 vols. (Rome: Quasar, 1993–2000), 4:67–70; Lawrence Richardson Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 286–287; Robin H. Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture: A Study of Flavian Rome* (Brussels: Latomus, 1996), 55–68, esp. 65–67; Fergus Millar, “Last Year in Jerusalem: Monuments of the Jewish War in Rome,” in *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, and James Rives (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 101–128, esp. 108–112; Sabine Panzram, “Der Jerusalemer Tempel und das Rom der Flavii,” in *Zerstörungen des Jerusalemer Tempels: Geschehen—Wahrnehmung—Bewältigung*, ed. Johannes Hahn (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 166–182, esp. 173–178. A recent series of articles on the Temple of Peace is found in *Divus Vespasianus: Il bimillenario dei Flavi*, ed. Filippo Coarelli (catalogue of an exhibition held in Rome at the Colosseum, the Curia and the Criptoportico neroniano, March 27, 2009–January 10, 2010; Milan: Electa, 2009).

4. B.J. 7:158–162. Cf. Pliny, *Natural History* 34.84; Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars: Vespasian* 9.1.

5. See Harold Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, et al., eds., *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 10 vols. (London: Spink, 1923–1984), 2:189 no. 280; Martin Goodman, “The *Fiscus Iudaicus* and Gentile Attitudes to Judaism in Flavian Rome,” in Edmondson, Mason, and Rives, *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, 167–177, esp. 171–172; and David Hendin, “Echoes of ‘Judea Capta’: The Nature of Domitian’s Coinage of Judea and Vicinity,” *Israel Numismatic Research* 2 (2007): 123–130.

6. *Argonautica* 1.12–14; Cf. Silius Italicus, *Punica* 3.600–624, for the association of the Argonautic victory with Titus’s victory in Jerusalem. For the date of the *Argonautica*, see Tim Stover, *Epic and Empire in Vespasianic Rome: A New Reading of Valerius Flaccus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Most recently on Flaccus, see *Brill’s Companion to Valerius Flaccus*, ed. Mark Heerink and Gesine Manuwald, *Brill’s Companions in Classical Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

7. See Nick Squires, “Massive Triumphal Marble Arch Built by Romans to Honour Emperor Titus Discovered,” *Telegraph* (London), May 29, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/italy/11638975/Massive-triumphal-marble-arch-built-by-Romans-to-honour-Emperor-Titus-discovered.html>.

for the tenth time, (hailed as) Imp(erator) for the seventeenth time, consul for the eighth time, their *principes*, because on the instructions and advice of his father, and under his auspices, he subdued the race of the Jews and destroyed the city of Jerusalem, which by all generals, kings, or races previous to himself had either been attacked in vain or not even attempted at all.⁸

Thousands of people must have seen the inscription, which thus kept the Jewish war before the public eye. A little earlier, in 80 CE, when the Colosseum was inaugurated by Titus, a dedicatory inscription reminded the audience that the extravagant amphitheater built to host the games they had come to watch had been financed by the booty brought back by the Flavian rulers. Géza Alföldy, who deciphered and reconstructed the actual inscription, suggested that it had once appeared on the inner walls of all four entrances.⁹

In the same year that the triumphal arch was erected in the Circus Maximus (81 CE), another triumphal arch was built, this time in tribute to Titus upon his (unexpected) death and consequent deification (Fig. 1). This arch, located on the Velia (the future Via Sacra), carried a shorter and more traditional dedicatory inscription: “Senatus / Populusque Romanus / Divo Tito Divi Vespasiani f(ilio) Vespasiano Augusto” (Fig. 2).¹⁰ The absence of a specific textual reference to the war in Judea was compensated for by an elaborate decorative program, visible to all onlookers and passers-by. A large relief showed Titus in triumph, crowned by Victory and riding a chariot pulled by four horses (Fig. 3). The

8. *CIL* VI 944 = *ILS* 264: “Senatus populusque Romanus imp. Tito Caesari divi Vespasiani f. Vespasian[o] Augusto pontif. max. trib. pot. X imp. XVII [c]os. VIII p.p. principi suo quod praeceptis patr[is] consiliisq. Et auspiciis gentem Iudaeorum domuit et urbem Hierusolymam omnibus ante se ducibus regibus aut frustra petitam aut omnino intemptatam delevit.” Text taken from Gerold Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung und der Pilgerführer durch Rom, Codex Einsidlensis 326* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1987), 87–88; English translation from Millar, “Last Year in Jerusalem,” 120. See also Werner Eck, “Rom und das jüdische Volk: Orte der Niederlagen und triumphale Erinnerungen,” in *Erinnerungsorte der Antik: Die römische Welt*, ed. Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp and Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp (Munich: Beck, 2006), 570–585; Franz-Alto Bauer, “Das Bild der Stadt Rom in karolingischer Zeit: Der Anonymus Einsidlensis,” *RQ* 92 (1997): 190–228.

9. Géza Alföldy, “Eine Bauinschrift aus dem Colosseum,” *ZPE* 109 (1995): 195–226, at 225; Panzram, “Der Jerusalemer Tempel und das Rom der Flavii,” 171–173; Millar, “Last Year in Jerusalem,” 117–119; Louis H. Feldman, “Financing the Colosseum,” *BAR* 27, no. 4 (2001): 20–31, 60–61. On entrances, arches, and gates as political bulletin boards in late antiquity, see Simon Malmberg, “Triumphal Arches and Gates of Piety at Constantinople, Ravenna, and Rome,” in *Using Images in Late Antiquity*, edited by Stine Birk, Troels Myrup, and Birte Poulsen (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 150–189.

10. “The Senate and the Roman People to the Deified Titus Vespasianus Augustus, son of the Deified Vespasianus”; English translation from Millar, “Last Year in Jerusalem,” 123. For the date and restorations, see Michael Pfanner, *Der Titusbogen* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1983), 91–92; Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 1:109–111; Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 166–172.

opposite panel represented the booty from Jerusalem, carried in a triumphal procession and about to pass under a city gate (the *Porta Triumphalis*?), or perhaps a triumphal arch. One group of young soldiers, with laurel wreaths upon their heads, carries on its shoulders the seven-branched menorah, another group, the silver trumpets and the table for the showbread (Fig. 4).¹¹ At the apex of the passageway, Titus is rising on the back of an eagle. Under his apotheosis, the triumphal procession proceeds toward the Velia, as if anticipating the display of the famous vessels in the Temple of Peace.

The public monuments in the Roman urban landscape—that is, the Arch of Titus on the Velia, together with the arch in Circus Maximus, the Temple of Peace, and the Colosseum—marked out a new Flavian topography in the city. Although this network of monuments was strongly associated with the triumph over Judea, it also depicted a turning point in the history of the Roman Empire.¹² Apart from capturing the end of Jewish Jerusalem, and an end of the Jewish Temple-based cult, it celebrated the new era of peace under the dynasty of the Flavians (69–96 CE), in implicit contrast to the instability of Nero.¹³ The fact that the Temple spoils were details in a much larger historical picture may be the reason why, after the Temple of Peace was destroyed by a massive fire in 192, there is scarcely a clue to the fate of the spoils from Jerusalem.¹⁴ Perhaps the golden vessels were melted in the fire.¹⁵ Perhaps they lost the interest of the

11. A discussion of the spoils panel of the arch is found in Leon Yarden, *The Spoils of Jerusalem on the Arch of Titus: A Re-investigation* (Rome: Svenska Institutet i Rom, 1991). A study and digital reconstruction of the original polychromy of the arch has been undertaken by Steven Fine, of Yeshiva University. See Steven Fine, “Menorahs in Color: Polychromy in Jewish Visual Culture of Roman Antiquity,” *Images* 6 (2013): 3–25.

12. On the sack of Jerusalem as Titus's only claim to glory, and the Flavians' emphasis on this achievement, see Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome, A.D. 66–70* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 235–251; Millar, “Last Year in Jerusalem”; Marie Tanner, *Jerusalem on the Hill: Rome and the Vision of Saint Peter's Basilica in the Renaissance* (London: Harvey Miller, 2010), 72–76, esp. 74; William den Hollander, *Josephus, the Emperors, and the City of Rome: From Hostage to Historian* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 195–199.

13. Darwall-Smith, *Emperors and Architecture*, 72–73; Millar, “Last Year in Jerusalem,” 102, 110–116; Ellen Bradshaw Aitken, “Portraying the Temple in Stone and Text: The Arch of Titus and the Epistle to the Hebrews,” *Sewanee Theological Review* 45, no. 2 (2002): 135–151, esp. 140–142.

14. The Temple of Peace was most likely rebuilt by Severus. Ammianus Marcellinus (*Roman History* 16.10.14) reports that the site was admired in 357 by the imperial tourist Constantius II.

15. On the total silence of Greek and Latin sources written between the second and sixth centuries concerning the fate of the actual vessels from the Jerusalem Temple, see Ra'anan S. Boustán, “The Spoils of the Jerusalem Temple at Rome and Constantinople: Jewish Counter-Geography in a Christianizing Empire,” in *Antiquity in Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Pasts in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Gregg Gardner and Kevin L. Osterloh, TSAJ 123 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 1–45, esp. 11; also Yoḥanan (Hans) Lewy, “The Fate of the Temple Implements after the Destruction of the Second Temple,” in Lewy, *Studies in Jewish Hellenism* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1960), 255–258 (in Hebrew); Martin Harrison, “From Jerusalem and Back Again: The Fate of the Treasures of Solomon,” in *Churches Built in Ancient*

public after 135, when, under Hadrian, Jerusalem became Aelia Capitolina and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was built on the site of the Temple of the Jews.¹⁶ At all events, and as will be discussed later, the spoils made a visual comeback in Roman art during the second half of the fourth century. In the sixth century, the vessels were exploited by Procopius, Justinian's biographer, to burnish the power of the Emperor because of their unique ability "to embody simultaneously the glories of both the Solomonic and Roman pasts."¹⁷

From 81 until the fire in 192, for a little over a century, the Flavian monuments could activate a local memory related to the Temple implements, which, as far as is known, were still in Rome.¹⁸ No matter how vague the fate of the spoils or how silent the textual sources, we may assume that even after the fire of 192, the Arch of Titus kept the spoils present to the public eye and, consequently, to some extent in the public consciousness.¹⁹ The procession carrying the Temple implements was the earliest visual frame of Jerusalem taken in Rome. True, the subject portrayed was neither the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, nor a picture of the city in the East, but rather the arrival of the Temple cult vessels in their

Times: Recent Studies in Early Christian Archaeology, ed. Kenneth Painter (London: Society of Antiquaries of London; Accordia Research Centre, University of London, 1994), 239–248; Steven Fine, "When I Went to Rome . . . There I saw the Menorah . . . : The Jerusalem Temple Implements between 70 C.E. and the Fall of Rome," in *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class, and the "Other" in Antiquity: Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers*, ed. Douglas R. Edwards and C. Thomas McCollough (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2005), 169–180.

16. For Hadrian's establishment of Aelia Capitolina, see David Golan, "Hadrian's Decision to Supplant 'Jerusalem' by 'Aelia Capitolina,'" *Historia* 35, no. 2 (1986): 226–239; Yaron Eliav, "The Urban Layout of Aelia Capitolina: A New View from the Perspective of the Temple Mount," in *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, ed. Peter Schäfer, TSAJ 100 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 241–277; and see recently, Nathanael J. Andrade, *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 174–177.

17. Boustan, "Spoils of the Jerusalem Temple at Rome and Constantinople," 35. Procopius, *History of the Wars* (4.9.1–9), elaborates on the spoils in his description of the triumphal procession celebrated by General Belisarius in Constantinople in 534, following his defeat of the army of Gelimer, the last king of the Vandals, near Carthage.

18. In the *History of the Wars* (4.9.1–9) Procopius claims that the Vandal Gaiseric had taken the spoils from Rome in 455, but elsewhere (5.12.41–42), he claims that the Temple vessels were taken by Alaric to Gaul after the sack of Rome in 410. See Averil Cameron, "Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium," *Past and Present* 84 (1979): 3–35; Lewy, "Fate of the Temple Implements," 255–258.

19. The Arch of Titus is not mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus in his description of the sight-seeing tour taken by the Emperor Constantius II in Rome in 357; but he does report that the Temple of Peace and the Colosseum were seen by the emperor (see n. 14 above)—both related, as noted above, to the Jewish war. It is difficult to imagine that Constantius intentionally bypassed the arch, located on the Via Sacra in close proximity to the Colosseum. Perhaps Marcellinus avoided mentioning the arch. Scholars have dealt extensively with this significant imperial visit. From the standpoint of landscape and memory, see Susanne Muth, "Die Stadt als Erinnerungslandschaft: Rom in der Spätantike," in Hölkeskamp and Stein-Hölkeskamp, *Erinnerungsorte der Antike: Die römische Welt* (Munich: C.H.Beck, 2006), 438–456.

new location—as well as a portrait of their local Roman possessor. Nonetheless, this spatial alliance between event and objects, between the original models and their monumental reproductions, gave Rome the potential to become a site of memory; and the dislodged trophies, along with their representations on the Arch of Titus, had the potential to become relics—that is, pilgrimage attractions in the net of spots that mapped the sacred landscape of Rome.²⁰

New Jerusalem was built at the very Testimony to the Savior, facing the famous Jerusalem of old, which after the bloody murder of the Lord had been overthrown in utter devastation, and paid the penalty of its wicked inhabitants. Opposite this then the Emperor erected the victory of the Savior over death with rich and abundant munificence, this being perhaps the fresh new Jerusalem proclaimed in prophetic oracles, about which long speeches recite innumerable praises as they utter words of divine inspiration.²¹

This is how Eusebius compared and contrasted the ruins of the Temple in Jerusalem with the construction of the Holy Sepulchre, begun by Constantine in 326.²² Once the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been built, along with the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Basilica of the Eleona (where Christ taught the mystery of his return, next to the site of the Ascension) on top of the Mount of Olives, the spoils on the arch of Titus in Rome could function as mementos of a glorious destruction, recalling Titus's role at a pivotal moment in Christian salvation history; a visual affirmation for Christians that Jerusalem was and would remain a Christian holy place, with the *loca sancta* rather than the Temple Mount as the focal shrines.²³ From a Christian point of view, the year

20. Since Maurice Halbwachs's *La Topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte: Étude de mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1941), much has been written on the process by which a place becomes sacred. In relation to late antique Rome, see, for instance, Steffen Diefenbach, *Römische Erinnerungsräume: Heiligenmemoria und kollektive Identitäten im Rom des 3. bis 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Millennium-Studien 11 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 1–37; Andreas Hartmann, *Zwischen Relikt und Reliquie: Objektbezogene Erinnerungspraktiken in antiken Gesellschaften*, Studien zur Alten Geschichte 11 (Berlin: Antike, 2010). In chapter 3, I will consider the dynamic of relics and portable mementos associated with sacred places in Rome.

21. Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.33.1–2; *Eusebius: Life of Constantine: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, trans. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 135, with a commentary on 273–291.

22. Robert Ousterhout, “New Temples and New Solomons: The Rhetoric of Byzantine Architecture,” in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Paul Magdalino (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), 223–253, esp. 233–237.

23. For the Christian conception of Titus, see below, p. 50; In addition to the churches in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, Constantine constructed a church in Mamre, where, according to tradition, Abraham met the three angels. See Hagit Sivan, *Palestine in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008),

70 CE served as a dated anchor in the Christological narrative.²⁴ The synoptic gospels report that the veil of the Temple was torn into two from top to bottom the moment Christ took his last breath (Mark 15:37–38; Luke 23:45–46; Matt. 27:50–51). This was an omen for what was to come. Justin Martyr established the connection between the Destruction and the Crucifixion: “For of all races of men there are some who look for Him who was crucified in Judea, and after whose crucifixion the land was straightway surrendered to you as spoil of war.”²⁵ Origen of Alexandria followed suit, emphasizing that the Destruction of the Temple was a punishment from God for the Crucifixion of his Son.²⁶ Eusebius linked the Crucifixion with the siege of Jerusalem.²⁷ In the fourth century, this linkage was in the background of the choice of the Gospel verses to recite on the eleventh Sunday after Pentecost: the verses in Luke (19:43–44, 21:22) in which Jesus prophesies the destruction of Jerusalem and where this is described as God’s vengeance. That specific Sunday often fell in the week of Tisha b’Av, the day the Jews mourn the Destruction of the Temple.²⁸

The links between the destruction of the Temple and the Crucifixion, and between old Jerusalem and New Jerusalem (so named by Eusebius), took on spatial and material dimensions in fourth-century Rome, when a relic of the True Cross arrived in the city. The person responsible for the import, as with the Jerusalem spoils, was a member of the imperial family, quite likely Constantine himself. This relic was installed in a church within the complex of the Sessorian palace, later known as Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (Fig. 5).²⁹ The *Liber Pontificalis*, a

31–32, 183–186. For the possibility that Christians in first-century Rome might have been disturbed by the public representation of the conquest of Jerusalem, see Samuel G. F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots* (New York: Scribner, 1967), 226–230.

24. Jörg Frey, “Temple and Identity in Early Christianity and in the Johannine Community: Reflection on the Parting of the Ways,” in *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History? On Jews and Judaism before and after the Destruction of the Second Temple*, ed. Daniel R. Schwartz and Zeev Weiss (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 447–507. On the paradigm of the “parting of the ways,” see also Annette Y. Reed and Adam H. Becker, “Introduction: Traditional Models and New Directions,” in *The Ways That Never Parted*, ed. Adam H. Becker and Annette Y. Reed (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 1–32.

25. 1 *Apol.* 32; quoted in Ruth A. Clements, “Epilogue: 70 CE after 135 CE—the Making of a Watershed?” in Schwartz and Weiss, *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?*, 517–536, on 527.

26. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 4.22; Robert Louis Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 132–136.

27. Eusebius, *Church History* 3.5; *Demonstration of the Gospel* 10.1; Stefan Heid, “Auf welcher Seite Kämpft Gott? Der Anspruch Jerusalems und Roms auf die Waffenhilfe Gottes in frühchristlicher Apologetik,” *ZKG* 104 (1993): 1–22; Heid, *Kreuz—Jerusalem—Kosmos: Aspekte frühchristlicher Staurologie*, *JACSup* 31 (Munich: Aschendorff, 2001), 113–119. See also Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews*, 136.

28. See Amnon Linder, “The Destruction of Jerusalem Sunday,” *Sacris Erudiri* 30 (1987–1988): 253–292; Israel J. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 39, 48–49.

29. Sible de Blaauw, “Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross,” in *Pratum Romanum: Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. Renate L. Colella et al. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), 55–73; de Blaauw, “Gerusalemme a Roma e il culto della Croce,” in *Gerusalemme a Roma: La Basilica di Santa*

Roman compilation of the lives and deeds of the Popes begun in the sixth century, attributes the foundation of the church to Constantine:

At the same time Constantine Augustus constructed a basilica in the Sessorian palace, where also he placed and enclosed in gold and jewels some of the wood of the Holy cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and he dedicated the church under the name by which it is called even to this day, *Hierusalem*.³⁰

The name *Hierusalem* was given to the church after the relic was installed, and as attested by the *Liber Pontificalis*, the church was known by that name until at least the sixth century.

The palace was most probably the place where the emperor's mother, Helena, had resided prior to her journey to Palestine. In fact, she was buried on the same Sessorian premises.³¹ The imperial architects, whether those of Constantine or his son Constantius, built the church using an existing third-century hall within the palace complex, 39 meters long, 25 meters wide, and 22 meters high. They added an apse on the southeast wall and divided the interior into three bays by means of transverse arches.³² Two preexisting adjoining rooms were preserved

Croce e le reliquie della Passione, ed. Roberto Cassanelli and Emilia Stolfi, Storia dell'arte 54 (Rome: Jaca Books, 2012), 27–39; and de Blaauw, “Translations of the Sacred City between Jerusalem and Rome,” in *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, ed. Jeroen Goudeau, Mariette Verhoeven, and Wouter Weijers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 136–166. See also Hugo Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert: Der Beginn der abendländischen Kirchenbaukunst* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013), 108–113 and older bibliography there.

30. “Eodem tempore fecit Constantinus Augustus basilicam in palatio Sossorianum, ubi etiam de ligno sanctae Crucis domini nostri Iesu Christi posuit et in auro et gemmis conclusit, ubi et nomen ecclesiae dedicavit, quae cognominatur usque in hodiernum diem Hierusalem,” *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 2 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1886), 1:80. English translation from *The Book of the Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, ed. Louise Ropes Loomis (Merchantville, NJ: Evolution, 2006; originally published in New York by Columbia University Press, 1916), 58. The association of the relic of the True Cross with Constantine rather than with his mother suggests that the deposition of the relic took place after Helena's death in 329 but before 390, when Ambrose recorded, for the first time, the legend of the finding of the True Cross by Helena. See de Blaauw, “Jerusalem in Rome,” 62–66; Holger A. Klein, *Byzanz, der Westen, und das “wahre” Kreuz: Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 69.

31. Most recently, Jan Willem Drijvers, “Helena Augusta and the City of Rome,” in *Monuments and Memory: Christian Cult Buildings and Constructions of the Past; Essays in Honour of Sible de Blaauw*, ed. Mariëtte Verhoeven, Lex Bosman, and Hanneke van Asperen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 149–155.

32. Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae I* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1937), 165–195; Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City 312–1308* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 24. The description of the ground plan of the early church (Fig. 5) is given according to Krautheimer, who is followed by Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 309, and de Blaauw, “Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross,” 57. A variation of the plan has recently been published by Massimiliano David, in which the chapel of the relic of the cross is identified in the same spot, but the path leading to the chapel behind the apse is different. See his article, “Potere imperiale e devozione cristiana: La Santa Croce a Roma e a Ravenna,” in Cassanelli and Stolfi, *Gerusalemme a Roma*, 41–49; the plan is on p. 42.

behind the apse on the eastern side, connected to the church by a corridor along the rounded wall. The further room was probably used as a baptistery.³³ The nearer room, directly behind the apse wall, became a shrine for the relic. There was thus a spatial separation between the church's altar and the relic itself. We have no idea of the decorative plan of the church, the apse, or the room where the relic was held before 425–444. At that time, Galla Placidia, her son Valentinian III, and her daughter Honoria refurbished the room where the relic was kept as the Chapel of the Cross (later, the Chapel of S. Helena) with new mosaics and a dedicatory inscription, referring to the church as *sancta ecclesia Hierusalem*.³⁴

The *Liber Pontificalis* also informs us that at least two additional relics of the cross were eventually translated to Rome; these were installed in special oratories built next to the Baptistery of St. John in the Lateran and in the transept of St. Peter's basilica.³⁵ Nonetheless, an eighth-century lectionary documents that S. Croce was the locus of the papal service on Good Friday, suggesting that even at a time when there was more than one relic of the True Cross in Rome, S. Croce constituted the closest link to the site of the Crucifixion.³⁶ Hartmann Grisar has suggested that the deposit of the relic in the chapel adjoining the sanctuary at S. Croce was spurred by an intention to associate the Roman installation of the relic with the recently built sanctuary at Golgotha in Jerusalem (Fig. 6).³⁷ If such is the case, this would have been the earliest implementation of

33. Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 23, believed that the church was for the imperial family's private use. This view has been rejected. See Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 112.

34. De Blaauw, "Jerusalem in Rome," 67; Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 108. In addition to the decoration of this chapel in Rome, Galla Placidia founded a church dedicated to the Holy Cross in Ravenna. See recently, Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 70–74; Massimiliano David, "Da Gerusalemme a Ravenna: Il culto della croce e la corte imperiale a Ravenna," in *Martiri, santi, patroni: Per una archeologia della devozione; Atti del X Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, ed. Adele Coscarella and Paola De Santis (Cosenza: Arcavacata, 2012), 687–695; Massimiliano David, ed., *La basilica di Santa Croce: Nuovi contributi per Ravenna tardoantica*, Biblioteca di Felix Ravenna 15 (Ravenna: Girasole, 2013); Carola Jäggi, *Ravenna: Kunst und Kultur einer spätantiken Residenzstadt. Die Bauten und Mosaiken des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014), 102–108.

35. Pope Hilarius (461–468) installed the relic in the oratory at the Lateran, and Pope Symmachus (498–514) installed that of the Basilica of St. Peter (*Liber Pontificalis* 1:179, 242, 261). In addition, Pope Leo the Great (440–461) received a relic of the cross from Jerusalem (*Ep.* 139 [PL 14.1106]). See Anatole Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix: Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1961), nos. 20, 23, 17, respectively.

36. *Nomes Romanus Wirziburgensis (Capitular lectionum of Würzburg)*, fol. 1v, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://vb.uni-wuerzburg.de/ub/foliomagnifier.html?book=47515183&page=2> (full visual and bibliographical details may be found there); see de Blaauw, "Jerusalem in Rome," 71.

37. Hartmann Grisar, *Analecta Romana: Dissertazioni, testi, monumenti dell'arte riguardanti principalmente la storia di Roma e dei papi nel medio evo* (Rome: Lefebvre, 1899), 556–558; de Blaauw, "Jerusalem in Rome," 68; de Blaauw, "Translations of the Sacred City," 139.

the long-standing tradition of translating elements of the architectural settings of the Holy Sepulchre complex from Palestine to Europe, thus creating surrogate monuments.³⁸ To follow de Blaauw, in view of the building's layout, the presence of the relic itself, and the name *Hierusalem*, this notion is certainly plausible.³⁹

Although it was not built from scratch to host the relic or to commemorate a special event, as the Arch of Titus was intended from its inception to celebrate the emperor's triumph and deification, the construction of *Hierusalem* within the Sessorian complex implied a direct link between the traditional capital of the Roman empire and the pilgrimage complex built by Constantine at the historical site in Jerusalem, along with the liturgy of the veneration of the cross at that site. The new shrine for the cross in Rome also constituted a monumental demonstration of the special interest of the imperial family in possessing and controlling a piece of the sacred story and its original location. Consequently, the Rome–Jerusalem axis, originated by Titus, was reactivated in fourth-century Christian Rome. Perhaps it was *Hierusalem* within the city walls that spurred Constantine's daughter to plan a mausoleum (S. Costanza), next to the Basilica of S. Agnese, which featured an ambulatory recalling that of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁴⁰ Be that as it may, the imperial patronage of S. Croce in Gerusalemme was again manifested between 425 and 444 when Galla Placidia and her children redecorated and rededicated the Chapel of the Holy Cross.

The visual guarantee of the long-lasting Roman victory over Judea represented in the Roman Forum after 81 CE was carried forward by the church within the Sessorian Palace: the end of Jewish Jerusalem as evoked on the Arch of Titus

38. Replicas of architectural elements of the Holy Sepulchre complex were primarily constructed later in the Middle Ages. See the famous and by now classic study of Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *JWarb* 5 (1942): 1–33; reprinted in Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 115–150. One late antique and much smaller-scale exception in Narbonne is the fifth-century copy of the Constantinian aedicule of the tomb of Christ. See most recently, Katharina Heyden, *Orientierung: Die westliche Christenheit und das Heilige Land in der Antike*, *Jerusalem Theologisches Forum* 28 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2014), 288–291. It is controversial whether or not the ambulatory design of the mid-fourth-century mausoleum of S. Costanza and the rotunda of the church of S. Stefano, dated to the second half of the fifth century, were modeled after the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. For S. Stefano Rotondo, see chapter 4 below. For medieval and postmedieval constructions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre outside Jerusalem, see the articles in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

39. De Blaauw, "Jerusalem in Rome," 68. For the possibility that the Merovingian chapel of the Holy Cross in Poitiers was inspired by its Roman predecessor, see my chapter, "Relocation to the West: The Relic of the True Cross in Poitiers," in *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: The Merovingian Kingdoms in a Mediterranean Perspective; Proceedings of an International Conference at the Freie Universität Berlin, December 17–20, 2014*, ed. Stefan Esders, Yitzhak Hen, Laury Sarti, and Yaniv Fox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

40. Jürgen J. Rasch, "Der Bau," in *Das Mausoleum der Constantina in Rom*, by Jürgen J. Rasch and Achim Arbeiter, *Spätantike Zentralbauten in Rom und Latium* 4 (Mainz: von Zabern, 2007), 90.

eventually enabled the construction of the New Jerusalem, that of the cross. The same monk who recorded the elaborate dedicatory inscriptions on the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus informs us that when he visited Rome late in the eighth or early in the ninth century, the site of the *other* Arch of Titus was called “ad VII lucernas,” after the impressive and significant motif in its decorative program.⁴¹ It does not take much to imagine that this motif would have made the same impression in the fourth century, making the triumph of Rome (now the triumph of *Christian* Rome) over the Jews and Jerusalem visible. Thus, a church called *Hierusalem*, built under imperial patronage, may have been perceived as ideologically connected to the Flavian monuments. Taken together, they reflect the theological conclusion drawn by earlier Christian writers—that is, that the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem was both a precursor to and confirmation of the triumph of the new people of God over the old. Therefore, Titus could be taken as a Roman hero who had functioned as God’s agent in the scheme of salvation. As far as I know, there is no textual source connecting the Arch of Titus and S. Croce, but it seems plausible that the meaning of the arch was amplified and enriched after the arrival of the cross. As we shall see, the tensions and links between old and New Jerusalem, in time, and possibly already by the second half of the fourth century, mutate into a local tradition of visual culture, which absorbs, represents, and competes for the biblical past and the Constantinian constructions of Jerusalem.

When we compare the arrival of the Temple spoils with that of the relic of the True Cross, it is clear that, although both movements were from Jerusalem to Rome, the Temple implements were “going into exile,” representing the defeated status of old Jerusalem, while the fragment of the cross signified the triumph of the New Jerusalem in a Christianizing Rome. Unlike the dislocated Temple cult vessels, which, according to Josephus, were kept in the emperor’s palace and in the Temple of Peace, the relic of the cross consecrated a site that adopted the name of its source, *Hierusalem*. The memorial monument of the True Cross did not recall the Jerusalem of the Temple Mount but rather the Jerusalem of the Holy Sepulchre, Golgotha, and the Mount of Olives; the relic represented the city of the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Second Advent. It was this New Jerusalem, the Jerusalem of the triumph of the Church, that in the fourth century penetrated into the evolving Christian cityscape and sacred center of Rome; thus supplanting the old, historical (Jewish) Jerusalem, which had been

41. Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung der Pilgerführer durch Rom*, 37, 96–97; Eck, “Rom und das jüdische Volk,” 575–576. A twelfth-century source referring to the Roman arch as “arcus septem lucernarum” is further testimony to this designation and to the prestige of the Arch of Titus. See Ingo Herklotz, “Der mittelalterliche Fassadenportikus der Lateranbasilika und seine Mosaiken: Kunst und Propaganda am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts,” *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 25 (1989): 25–95, esp. 73–79; and Marie-Thérèse Champagne and Ra’anan S. Boustán, “Walking in the Shadows of the Past: The Jewish Experience of Rome in the Twelfth Century,” *Medieval Encounters* 17 (2011): 462–592.

present and represented by the Temple spoils in the visual culture and the public memory of Rome for the previous two-and-a-half centuries.

While the presence of Jerusalem in Rome was initiated by Titus, the presence of Rome in Constantinople was promoted by Constantine.⁴² When Constantine desired to make visible the preeminence of his new capital, he confiscated the cult images of the old gods, from civic and religious centers throughout Greece, the Eastern Mediterranean and Rome, and brought them all to Constantinople.⁴³ The transplantations may have been related to the Roman ritual of *evocatio deorum*, wherein, before an attempted conquest, the deity of the enemy city was lured to abandon the city and promised a new temple in Rome.⁴⁴ In this case, though no conquest was in view, the cultic objects were relocated and given a new social context. Even today, it is possible to see the bronze serpent column of the Plataean Tripod, said to have been taken by Constantine from the shrine of Apollo in Delphi and installed in the Hippodrome.⁴⁵ Another such reuse relevant to our context was the so-called *Palladium*, an ancient wooden guardian statue of the armed Athena that had guaranteed the safety of Troy, said to be of divine origin. According to Roman tradition, the statue was taken by Aeneas to Rome, where it was kept in the Temple of Vesta.⁴⁶ Sources such as the chronicler John Malalas in the sixth century and the *Chronicon Paschale* in the seventh-century report that the statue was taken from Rome by Constantine and placed in the Forum beneath the emperor's triumphal column.⁴⁷ Removing the *Palladium* from Rome was an act that reinvoked its historic significance in

42. For the foundation of Constantinople as the New or Second Rome, see the introduction by Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly to their recent collection *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, Oxford Studies in Late Antiquity (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); see also the chapter by Neil B. McLynn, "Two Romes, Beacons of the Whole World: Canonizing Constantinople," in Grig and Kelly, *Two Romes*, 345–363.

43. Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 37–78, with additional bibliography.

44. Gabriella Gustafsson, *Evocatio Deorum: Historical and Mythical Interpretations of Ritualised Conquests in the Expansion of Ancient Rome*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Historia Religionum 16 (Uppsala: Coronet, 2000).

45. So Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* 3.54; and see Bassett, *Urban Image*, 224–227; Paul Stephenson, *The Serpent Column: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

46. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, 1.68–69; Livy, *The History of Rome*, 26.27.14. The removal of the spoil from Troy is recounted by Procopius, *De Bello Goth* 1.15; see Bassett, *Urban Image*, 205–206; Clifford Ando, "The Palladium and the Pentateuch: Towards a Sacred Topography of the Later Roman Empire," *Phoenix* 55 (2001): 369–410, esp. 397–404.

47. Malalas 13.7; *Chron. Paschale* 1.528: "The same Emperor Constantine removed from Rome the so-called Palladium and placed it in the forum that he had built underneath the column [bearing] his statue: this is stated by some inhabitants of Byzantium who have heard it by way of tradition." Translation by Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 16 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 7; Bassett, *Urban Image*, 68–71, 205–206; Ando, "Palladium and the Pentateuch," 399.

a new urban context—that is, the New Rome; the transfer created “an image of urban pre-eminence intended to describe Constantinople as the premier city of the Roman world.”⁴⁸

The Temple spoils were not deities, but they were cult objects that represented the cultic site of the Jewish God and his place of dwelling.⁴⁹ In fact, Titus’s transfer of the Temple spoils to Rome may itself have been a type of *evocatio deorum*.⁵⁰ From 75 CE they “earned” a new social life and environment among the deities and other cult images in the Temple of Peace.⁵¹ Whether or not the *evocatio* was employed in relation to Jerusalem, Josephus asserted that God had left Jerusalem in favor of Rome, and the Romans were sure that their gods were responsible for the victory over the Jews.⁵² Much later, when Constantine or another member of the imperial family brought the relic of the cross to Rome, the circumstances were clearly different; but in at least one aspect the outcome was the same: this inanimate object with a glorious past was given a new social life in a new urban context. It was the Arch of Titus, together with S. Croce and the tombs of Peter and Paul, the local martyrs, that built the foundation upon which Rome could qualify for the contested place of primacy as the sacred center of the Christian world.

The motivation for the *translatio* of the cross to Rome may be elucidated by taking a further look at Constantinople. Constantine did not stop at merely decorating the new city with images of the glorious imperial past in order to construct its identity as New or Second Rome. Byzantium had no apostolic foundation or any other Christian past, and the Emperor was determined to import Christian relics. His plan was eventually accomplished in 356–357 by his son Constantius II, when the relics of S. Timothy, followed by the relics of Ss. Andrew and Luke, were brought to Constantinople and installed in the Church of the Holy Apostles, next to the Mausoleum of Constantine.⁵³ According to

48. Sarah Bassett, “Ancient Statuary in Fourth-Century Constantinople: Subject, Style and Function,” in *Statuen in der Spätantike*, ed. Franz Alto Bauer and Christian Witschel (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007), 189–200, on 198.

49. Exodus 25:8.

50. See Jodi Magness, “The Arch of Titus at Rome and the Fate of the God of Israel,” *JJS* 59 (2008): 201–217.

51. For the notion of “objects” becoming “things” with a new social life, see Bill Brown, “Thing Theory,” *Critical Inquiry* 28, no. 1 (2001): 1–22, esp. 6–8.

52. *B.J.* 3.354; 6.300; Goodman, *Ruling Class of Judea*, 235; Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations* (New York: Vintage, 2007), 452; Magness, “Arch of Titus,” 204–207; Steve Mason, “Figured Speech and Irony in T. Flavius Josephus,” in Edmondson, Mason and Rives, *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, 243–289, on 255.

53. Cyril Mango, “Constantine’s Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics,” *BZ* 83 (1990): 51–62; and see his “Addendum,” 434; Richard W. Burgess, “The *Passio S. Artemii*, Philostorgius, and the Dates of the Invention and Translation of the Relics of Sts. Andrew and Luke,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 121 (2003): 5–36, repr. in Burgess, *Chronicles, Consuls, and Coins: Historiography and History in the Later Roman Empire* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Variorum, 2011), chap. 9; Holger A. Klein, “Sacred Relics and Imperial

later sources, Constantine brought the rod of Moses to the city as well. It was later transferred to the Great Palace, and carried in imperial processions together with the “cross of Constantine.”⁵⁴

Indeed, there is hardly any doubt that the imported sacral objects functioned to underscore the legitimacy of royal power and, likewise, to provide the agent of transfer and his descendants with imperial and religious credit points in the public’s cultural memory. However, my concern here is not with the specific emperors, but rather with the Christianization of the city. With the arrival of the apostolic relics in Constantinople, the strong foundation for a (new) Christian identity and historiography was complete. Shortly after the middle of the fourth century, Constantinople was in possession of the imperial tomb and mausoleum of its founder and first Christian emperor, cult images and deities from the earlier empire, and sacred Christian relics. Gregory Nazianzus, addressing the residents of Constantinople in his autobiographical poem *De Vita Sua* (ca. 382), put it nicely:

the name for nobility in the world, you who inhabit a second universe, as I see it, enfolded in a beauty involving earth and sea, a new-made Rome, seat of a second nobility, city of Constantine and a monument of power.⁵⁵

Unlike Byzantium, Rome had been in possession of Christian relics and holy sites before the arrival of Constantine or the cross; the tombs of Peter and Paul are mentioned in second-century sources.⁵⁶ Also unlike Byzantium, a small town that mainly served the military personnel based there, Rome carried on its shoulders the burden of a pagan cultural capital.⁵⁷ But also unlike Constantinople,

Ceremonies at the Great Palace of Constantinople,” in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft: Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen—Gestalt und Zeremoniell—Internationales Kolloquium 3./4. Juni 2004 in Istanbul*, ed. Franz Alto Bauer, Byzas 5 (Istanbul: Ege Yayinlari, 2006), 79–99.

54. *De ceremoniis*, II, 40, 640–641. See Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 84, 98, 216; Klein, “Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies,” 93; Alexei M. Sivertsev, *Judaism and Imperial Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 104–108.

55. *De Vita Sua* 12–16, after McLynn, “Two Romes, Beacons of the Whole World,” 357. Future contributions to the local treasure continued under the Theodosian dynasty and even later. In fact, imported relics never stopped coming. Famous examples include the relics of S. Stephen, imported by the Empress Eudocia in 439, and relics associated with the Virgin Mary, imported by the Empress Pulcheria in 451. See Klein, “Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies.”

56. See Hans Georg Thümmel, *Die Memorien für Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Die archäologischen Denkmäler und die literarische Tradition* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999); “Die Anfänge der Verehrung der apostolischen Gräber in Rom,” in *Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Eine interdisziplinäre Debatte*, ed. Stefan Heid (Freiburg: Herder, 2011), 283–308. Most of the tombs of other martyrs were identified toward the end of the fourth century and even later. See Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 59, and the discussion in chapter 3 below.

57. John Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000).

which during the fourth century sought to measure up to Rome by importing symbols from the previous capital and by embracing relics of saints comparable with those of Peter and Paul, Rome, as will be shown here, struggled to maintain its central position by measuring up to, if not supplanting, Jerusalem. To Christianize Rome effectively, with Christian content of the first degree, the tombs of Peter and Paul, the local heroes, were certainly good anchors; their tombs mark holy sites. But an urban Christian identity would not be complete without a relic connected directly with Christ, with the events and sites of his life, death, and resurrection. This is where Jerusalem enters the local Roman visual frame once again, except this time it is a Christian rather than a pagan picture.

In the visual culture of Rome, the Temple vessels were *spolia*, effective to some extent as translated relics.⁵⁸ The translation of the relic of the True Cross from Jerusalem to Rome not only made the Christian triumph visible in Rome, but also completed the basic theological and physical shift of Jerusalem's sacred quality and reality to Rome. The inclusion of the cross as a central motif in Roman visual compositions associated in various ways with Jerusalem is the subject of chapter 2. The remainder of the present chapter will examine the impact of the Temple spoils on Roman art three centuries after their relocation to the capital city and their representation on the Arch of Titus. For this purpose, I consider two compositions—a mosaic representing *Dominus legem dat* in the Mausoleum of S. Costanza (ca. 370) and a wall painting in arcosolium IV of cubiculum II of the Jewish catacomb under Villa Torlonia (350–375), representing a Torah Ark between two *menorot*.⁵⁹

Although it may seem more logical to begin with the Jewish example, I will start with the Christian test case because I am interested in a representative composition for which Roman origin is not in doubt. The composition of *Dominus legem dat* (The Lord gives the Law, hereafter *Dld*), more commonly known as *Traditio legis*, was established and reproduced in Rome before it appeared anywhere else; the S. Costanza mosaic was found in situ and can be treated in relation to a homogeneous group of contemporary Roman representations in diverse media. I will suggest that the presence of the Jerusalem spoils in Rome, and, more specifically, the copy of the Mosaic Law, had an effect on the

58. Jaś Elsner, "From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms," *PBSR* 68 (2000): 149–84; Maria Fabricius Hansen, *The Eloquence of Appropriation: Prolegomena to an Understanding of Spolia in Early Christian Rome* (Rome: Bretschneider, 2003); Dale Kinney, "Ancient Gems in the Middle Ages: Riches and Ready-mades," in *Reuse Value: Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, ed. Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 97–120.

59. I prefer to use the Hebrew plural form *menorot* instead of "menorahs."

innovation of *Dld* and its association with the theme of the gathering of all the nations on Mount Zion (Isa. 2:2–3). This composition signals on many levels the transformation of Rome into a Christian religious, political, and cultural center.

DOMINUS LEGEM DAT AND THE MOSAIC
IN SANTA COSTANZA

As noted in the opening of the chapter, Josephus reports that the Law taken from Jerusalem was housed in Vespasian's palace together with the Temple veil.⁶⁰ We may assume that this was a Torah scroll confiscated from the Temple and thus one that had special authoritative significance.⁶¹ It is not clear why the Torah and the veil were not sculpted in the panel representing the Temple spoils on the Arch of Titus. Perhaps the sculptor concentrated on the objects he saw in the permanent exhibition at the Temple of Peace, perhaps their appearance, in gold, beamed their value higher than scrolls and curtain drapery. Nevertheless, and as will be argued, the scroll of the Law effectively inspired images produced in Rome during the second half of the fourth century.⁶²

The fundamental setup of *Dld* features Christ presenting the Law, as an open scroll, to Peter in the presence of Paul. Sometimes, as in the niche mosaic in S. Costanza (Fig. 7), Christ is seen coming between the clouds or standing on a hill from which the four rivers of paradise flow. At times, a procession of sheep is at the bottom of the scene. Needless to say, the title, *Dominus legem dat*, inscribed in some of the representations on the open scroll, is not sufficient for an effective association with the Mosaic Law.⁶³ Reflecting, as far as is known, a theological

60. Flavius Josephus, *B.J.* 7.148–50. According to the LCL translation: “and last of all the spoils was carried a copy of the Jewish Law.” This may seem to reduce the significance of the Torah scroll, but the word “copy” does not appear in the Greek text: ὁ τε νόμος ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφέρετο τῶν λαφύρων τελευταῖος. The German translation by Otto Michel and Otto Bauernfeind (see Flavius Josephus, *Der Jüdische Krieg* 2:2, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969, 103) clarifies: “Als Abschluss der Beutestücke wurde das Gesetz (= die Torarolle) der Juden vorbeigetragen.” For the tradition that the scroll taken by Titus was given by the Emperor Alexander Severus (222–235 CE) to the Jewish community in Rome (*Midrash Bereshit Rabbati* on Gen. 45:8), and the prestige of what has become known as the Severus Scroll, see n. 101 below.

61. Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Literary Transmission, Beliefs, and Manners of Palestine in the I Century B.C.E.–IV Century C.E.* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950), 21–26; Solomon Zeitlin, “Were There Three Torah-Scrolls in the Azarah?” *JQR* 56 (1966): 269–272.

62. The Temple veil finds its way to the representational arts as well, though not necessarily in Rome. See most recently, Alexei Lidov, “The Temple Veil as a Spatial Icon Revealing an Image-Paradigm of Medieval Iconography and Hierotopy,” *Ikon* 7 (2014): 97–108, with earlier bibliography.

63. For the discussion of the titles of the composition, *Traditio legis* and *Dominus legem dat*, see Achim Arbeiter's extensive chapter, “Die Mosaiken,” in *Das Mausoleum der Constantina in Rom*, ed. Jürgen Rasch and Achim Arbeiter (Mainz: von Zabern, 2007), 103–313, esp. 124–147. The latter title was

dictum or allegory rather than a specific textual source, the variations of *Dld* were consciously composed contemporary representations.⁶⁴ Most scholars agree that the creation of the composition of *Dld* should be seen in the context of the developing Roman ideal of *concordia apostolorum*—that is, the notion of the harmonious partnership of Peter and Paul, used to promote the claim of the primacy of Peter's *cathedra* and the Roman church over other Christian centers, especially Constantinople. This idea has often been related to the episcopacy of Damasus, the pope who is usually credited with boosting the local cult of Peter and Paul, to whom I will return in the next chapters.⁶⁵ The scholarly community has not come to a consensus on the question of whether the scene is meant to depict Christ before or after the Resurrection, that is, at the time of the Second Coming.⁶⁶ At all events, the scene has been the subject of generations of scholarly work, but as far as I know, its creation has not been associated with the presumed presence of a copy of the Mosaic Law in Rome.⁶⁷

We may assume, given the lack of a direct and clear textual reference, that the Roman allegorical image was composed in a specific political and/or religious climate, for a specific event, or a specific place—one of the above or all of them together. It is commonly held that around the middle of the fourth century, a *Dld* scene decorated the apse of the Old St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican.⁶⁸ The

clearly preferred and is actually inscribed in some of the early Christian representations (though this is no longer the case in S. Costanza, where the inscription on the scroll was replaced by *Dominus pacem dat* during restoration work).

64. Josef Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung frühchristlicher Bildwerke* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997), 73–78.

65. See, for instance, Charles Pietri, "Concordia apostolorum et renovatio Urbis (culte des martyrs et propagande pontificale)," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 73 (1961): 275–322; J. M. Huskinson, *Concordia Apostolorum: Christian Propaganda at Rome in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries; A Study of Early Christian Iconography and Iconology* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1982); cf. Lucy Grig, "Portraits, Pontiffs, and the Christianization of Fourth-Century Rome," *PBSR* 72 (2004): 203–230, esp. 216–218; Marianne Sághy, "Scinditur in partes populus: Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome," *Early Medieval Europe* 9, no. 3 (2003): 273–287. On the struggle for primacy of the Roman bishop, see Wolfgang Klausnitzer, *Der Primat des Bischofs von Rom: Entwicklung–Dogma–ökumenische Zukunft* (Freiburg: Herder, 2004).

66. For arguments against such an eschatological context, see Yves Christe, "Apocalypse et *Traditio legis*," *RQ* 71 (1976): 42–55; Mikael Bøgh Rasmussen, "Traditio legis?," *CA* 47 (1999): 5–37.

67. This is the case also in the recent studies by Robert Couzin, *The Traditio Legis: Anatomy of an Image* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2015), and Armin F. Bergmeier, "The Traditio Legis in Late Antiquity and Its Afterlives in the Middle Ages," *Gesta* 56 (2017): 27–52. But see recently, Galit Noga-Banai, "Dominus legem dat: Von der Tempelbeute zur römischen Bildinvention," *RQ* 110 (2015): 157–174.

68. There is a vast literature on the suggested reconstructions of the apse of the old basilica. See, e.g., Walter N. Schumacher, "Eine römische Apsiskomposition," *RQ* 54 (1959): 137–202; Tilmann Buddensieg, "Le coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre, et le Latran," *CA* 10 (1959): 157–200; Christa Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960; repr. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 33–39, esp. 34; Achim Arbeiter, *Alt-St. Peter in Geschichte und Wissenschaft* (Berlin: Mann, 1988); Fabrizio Bisconti, "Pietro e Paolo: L'invenzione delle

attribution of the earliest *Dld* composition to this church is based mainly on the wide distribution of the scene, which suggests a prestigious source for the model. In addition, one specific representation of the scene may support the reference to St. Peter's: the ivory relief covering the lid of a wooden casket from Samagher near Pola, today kept in Venice (Fig. 8). The casket body is decorated with four ivory panels, one on each side, representing what seems to be an ecclesiastical architectural setting (Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12). Most scholars agree that these panels represent four Roman churches, one of which is considered to be the Basilica in the Vatican.⁶⁹ If the date attributed to the casket, based on stylistic grounds, is indeed ca. 440, the casket represents what may be considered the third generation of representations of *Dld*. The top panel is fragmentary; but even if it were complete, as I will argue toward the end of the chapter, we cannot be sure that the scene on the casket reproduced the exact scene in St. Peter's apse. Thus, we are left with the earliest monumental representation of *Dld* found in situ, the niche mosaic in the Mausoleum of S. Costanza, dated ca. 370.⁷⁰ As we shall see, although heavily restored, the niche mosaic in S. Costanza nevertheless indexes the early concepts that were taken into account during the time period when the scene took shape.

Before concentrating on this particular mosaic, I want briefly to draw attention to an interpretation of a specific variation of *Dld*, wherein it is accompanied by a procession of lambs. This is one of the most oft-repeated motifs, found, for instance, on the so-called Sarcophagus of Stilicho in the Basilica Ambrosiana in Milan (*Rep.* II, no. 150); it is reproduced in a compressed version on the casket from Samagher. The sarcophagus in Milan was produced in Rome, but

immagini, la rievocazione delle storie, la genesi delle teofanie," in *Pietro e Paolo: La storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli*, ed. Angela Donati (Milan: Electa 2000), 43–53, esp. 51; Glenn W. Bowersock, "Peter and Constantine," in *St. Peter's in the Vatican*, ed. William Tronzo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 5–15. Most recently, Hugo Brandenburg, *Die konstantinische Petersbasilika am Vatikan in Rom: Anmerkungen zu ihrer Chronologie, Architektur und Ausstattung* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2017). For a different view, see Manuel M. Sotomayor, "Über die Herkunft der 'Traditio legis,'" *RQ* 56 (1961): 215–230, and also the discussion below.

69. Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 1925–279. The casket was found in 1906. See Buddensieg, "Le coffret en ivoire de Pola"; Wolfgang F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1976), cat. no. 120; Paul Künzle, "Das Petrus Reliquiare von Samagher," *RQ* 71 (1976): 22–41; Margherita Guarducci, *La capsella eburnea di Samagher: Un cimelio di arte paleocristiana nella storia del tardo Impero* (Trieste: Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria, 1978); Davide Longhi, *La Capsella eburnea di Samagher: Iconografia e committenza* (Ravenna: Girasole, 2006); Gudrun Bühl, "Kästchen von Samagher," in 799: *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Grosse und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn; Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999*, ed. Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999), 2:614, cat. no. IX.5. See chapter 3 below for a detailed discussion of the casket.

70. For discussion of the date and historiography, and an extensive bibliography, see Arbeiter, "Die Mosaiken," 124–147, 299–303.

was probably taken to the Ambrosiana toward the end of the fourth century (Fig. 13).⁷¹ Its prestigious housing, for what must have been an aristocratic patron, suggests that the decorative program of the lavish sarcophagus was planned according to the most recent design. The lid features New Testament scenes; the two sides of the body show Old Testament scenes. Christ is teaching the apostles on the back, and the front has an elaborated representation of *Dld*. Unlike the simple, basic type of the *Dld*, where Christ, Peter, and Paul are the only actors, the Milan sarcophagus features the three principals at the center of a larger composition representing Christ among *all* the apostles. A male and a female figure in *proskynesis* position flank the hillock on which Christ stands, from which the four rivers flow.⁷² Suitably for an acclamation pose, the hands of the male figure are covered. The lower front register shows the procession of lambs coming out from two city-gate-like architectural elements to meet the Lamb of God, who stands on a smaller hillock in the center, below the hill with the figure of Christ.

Rotraut Wisskirchen and Stefan Heid argued that this scene represents the Gathering of All Nations on Mount Zion.⁷³ To be more precise, they suggested that within the scene of *Dld*, Christ fulfills the prophecy in Isaiah 2:2–3 (cf. Mic. 4:1–3; Rev. 14:1):

Now it shall come to pass in the latter days That the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established on the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow to it. Many people shall come and say, "Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; He will teach us His ways, and we shall walk in His paths." For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

In accordance with this biblical eschatological scenario, which references the Mosaic Law, the procession of lambs represents the Gathering of All Nations on Mount Zion. Zechariah 14:16–9 specifies that this ingathering will take

71. The sarcophagus is commonly known as the Sarcophagus of Stilicho (365–408), a Roman military commander and regent for the Roman emperor Honorius. On stylistic grounds, the sarcophagus is dated by Jutta Dresken-Weiland, in *Rep.* II, no. 150, to 380–400. But see Johannes Kollwitz, "Probleme der theodosianischen Kunst Roms," *RivAC* 39 (1963): 191–194, 210–211, who narrows the date of the sarcophagus to the 380s. Cf. Hugo Brandenburg, "Stilprobleme der frühchristlichen Sarkophagkunst Roms im 4. Jh.," *RM* 86 (1979): 439–471, esp. 468.

72. Johannes G. Deckers, "Vom Denker zum Diener: Bemerkungen zu den Folgen der konstantinischen Wende im Spiegel der Sarkophagplastik," in *Innovation in der Spätantike*, ed. Beat Brenk (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1996), 137–172.

73. Rotraut Wisskirchen and Stefan Heid, "Der Prototyp des Lämmerfrieses in Alt-St. Peter: Ikonographie und Ikonologie," in *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann*, ed. Ernst Dassmann, *JACSup* 18 (Munich: Aschendorff, 1991), 138–160; cf. Marie-Louise Thérel, *Les symboles de l'«Ecclesia» dans la création iconographique de l'art chrétien du III^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1973), 88–91.

place during the Festival of Sukkoth (also known as the Feast of Booths or Tabernacles):

And it shall come to pass that everyone who is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles. And it shall be that whichever of the families of the earth do not come up to Jerusalem to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, on them there will be no rain. If the family of Egypt will not come up and enter in, they shall have no rain; they shall receive the plague with which the Lord strikes the nations who do not come up to keep the Feast of Tabernacles. This shall be the punishment of Egypt and the punishment of all the nations that do not come up to keep the Feast of Tabernacles.

According to this interpretation, the scene most closely identified with the effort of constructing visual legitimacy for the Roman primate, the *Dld*, is conflated with an eschatological *peregrinatio* to Mount Zion and the Temple of Jerusalem during the Festival of Sukkoth, in which the Mosaic Law, the Torah has a major role. Why, then, are Christ, Peter, and Paul brought together with the procession of lambs, and why would this composition come to be distributed widely (whether in simpler or more elaborate versions) in Rome?

Wisskirchen and Heid, basing themselves on Eusebius and other church fathers, explain that Peter and Paul are the proclaimers of the new Law coming out of Zion, which is equated with the eschatological appearance of Christ and through him with the Church.⁷⁴ In Rome the two apostles, the great local martyrs, would quite naturally be represented as the propagators of this Law. In the following discussion of the earliest extant representation of the scene in S. Costanza (ca. 370), I will take this interpretation one step further and point out that the composition of *Dld* carries supersessionist overtones. It pictures the significant eschatological event of ingathering, which is to take place on Mount Zion, as in fact taking place in Rome—which, as far as is known, was the then-current address of the Temple spoils, including the scroll of the Mosaic Law.

Only three of the eleven niches in the ambulatory ring at S. Costanza still possess fragments of the original early Christian mosaics, which were crudely renovated more than once.⁷⁵ In the mosaic under discussion here, Christ appears at the center, between clouds, his right hand raised while with his left hand he offers an open scroll to Peter, who is placed next to him. On the other

74. Wisskirchen and Heid, "Der Prototyp des Lämmerfrieses in Alt-St. Peter," 154–155.

75. Arbeiter, "Die Mosaiken," 104.

side, Paul gazes at Christ in adoration. Christ is standing on a sketchy hill from which the rivers of paradise flow. There are four lambs between the figures, two on each side of the hill. The central group is flanked by two huts sprouting palm trees. The huts are simple, with what seem like cone-shaped roofs. Palm trees, chimney-like, grow out of the roofs.

Not all the details presently seen in the mosaic are part of its earliest design. Thanks to the work of David Stanley, we are now on safer ground regarding the original details.⁷⁶ According to Stanley, the original parts of the *Dld* picture include most of the left side of the composition as currently restored (Fig. 14): Paul, except for his feet; two lambs; and the upper part of a hut including the palm tree. The clouds between Paul and Christ are also original. Christ is almost completely renovated; only the original feet and the palm of the right hand are discernible. Peter's state is only a little better; a few fragments of the borders of his pallium are visible, next to a few clouds. The two lambs on his side are original, as is a fragment of the tree.⁷⁷ I will elaborate here on one of the motifs that has remained in its original form just enough to allow for analysis: the hut-like structure with the tree in the corners of the apse.⁷⁸

The *Dld* mosaic in S. Costanza is the only representation of *Dld* that contains huts.⁷⁹ Other representations show simple-looking city gates, like the architectural elements seen on the sarcophagus in Milan; sometimes, they are inscribed "Bethlehem" and "Jerusalem," as, for instance, on a gold-glass bottom in the Museo Sacro at the Vatican (Pl. 1).⁸⁰ Often, as with this gold-glass example, the architectural elements are accompanied by palm trees. The combination of *Dld* with the "twin cities" motif was associated with monumental, representative, and eschatological compositions similar to *Dld*, containing the trio of Christ, Peter, and Paul, even where the Law is not being given, as in the apse mosaics of SS. Cosmas and Damianos or in S. Prassede, dated respectively to the sixth and ninth centuries.⁸¹ In these monumental representations, the simple looking city-gates became lavishly decorated architectural elements. The Roman distribution suggests that the motif of the twin cities first appeared in connection

76. David Stanley, "The Apse Mosaics at Santa Costanza," *RM* 94 (1987): 29–42.

77. For a detailed description of the original tesserae, see Stanley, "Apse Mosaics"; also Arbeiter, "Die Mosaiken," 116–117.

78. The following discussion is based on a preliminary presentation of this aspect in my article, "From a Cabin in the Sky to the Eternal City," *JAC* 53 (2010): 140–152.

79. Stanley, "Apse Mosaics," 41, uses the Italian word, *capanna*.

80. Charles R. Morey, *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library, with Additional Catalogues of Other Gold-Glass Collections* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1959), cat. no. 78; Donati, *Pietro e Paolo*, 224–225, cat. no. 93.

81. Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung*, 78. See the discussion of the mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore in chapter 4 below.

with the scene of *Dld* itself. It seems to have gained independence as well as popularity shortly afterwards, however, not only because it accompanied different compositions, but also because it came to be known outside of Rome.⁸² The fact that a number of monumental representations of the motif inscribe the names of the cities gave a certain identity to the motif. Thus, even where the architectural elements are not named as, for instance, on the sarcophagus in Milan, and especially when two palm trees are added, the general opinion is that they represent Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Even the unusual huts in S. Costanza are sometimes similarly identified. However, based on a comparison with another Roman representation that bears a similar hut-like motif, I tend to think they were meant to represent what they are—huts, or rather booths (*sukkoth*).

Although *prima facie* not related to *Dld* and certainly not monumental, the more or less contemporary fragment of a (Jewish) gold-glass bottom now in the Museo Sacro is the key to the identification of the structures seen in the *Dld* composition in S. Costanza.⁸³ The fragment is decorated with a representation of the Temple flanked by two columns and a Greek inscription that reads: “House of Peace, Accept a blessing (?) . . . with all yours” (Pls. 3, 4).⁸⁴ In front of the Temple are a menorah, two canthari, a *lulav* (palm branch), an *ethrog* (citron) and two jars.⁸⁵ The Temple and the objects are surrounded by a rectangular colonnade,

82. The pair of architectural elements are represented, for instance, on the silver casket known as *Capsella Brivio*; in the floor mosaic from Basilica I in Junca, Tunisia; and in the floor mosaic in Tayibat al-Imam, Syria, all three dated to the fifth century. See Galit Noga-Banai, *The Trophies of the Martyrs: An Art-Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 55–57, 80–83, and bibliography there.

83. Morey, *Gold-Glass Collection*, cat. no. 116; Archer St. Clair, “God’s House of Peace in Paradise: The Feast of Tabernacles on a Jewish Gold Glass,” *JJA* 11 (1985): 6–15, figs. 1 and 2, with earlier bibliography; Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium* (Rome: Herder, 1987), 108; Herbert Kessler, “Through the Temple Veil: The Holy Image in Judaism and Christianity,” *Kairos* 32–33 (1990–1991): 53–77, esp. 56–60. The glass fragment has been dated to the third or early fourth century, but St. Clair notes that a later date is possible. Indeed, this piece differs in design and color from the other Jewish gold glass we know, but the theme of the iconography, as will be discussed below, is congruent with them as well as with representations in other media, and therefore I think it should be dated to the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century. On whether or not Jewish symbols make an object, like this gold glass, exclusively Jewish, see Jaś Elsner, “Archaeologies and Agendas: Reflections on Late Ancient Jewish Art and Early Christian Art,” *JRS* 93 (2003): 114–128, esp. 115–118.

84. David Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*, vol. 2: *The City of Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 471–473, following the reading of St. Clair, “God’s House,” 7 : ΟΙΚΟC ΙΡΗ[νῆ] C . . . ΛΑΒΕ ΕΥΑΓΓΙΛΙΑ(ν? μετὰ τῶν) CΩ(ν π)ΑΝΤΩΝ.

85. Some of the details are difficult to discern today, but we are fortunate to have a drawing of the piece made in 1882 by Giovanni de Rossi (Pl. 4), when these elements were more visible. Giovanni B. de Rossi, “Sur un verre coloré représentant le Temple de Jerusalem,” *Bulletin d’archéologie chrétienne* n.s. 1 (1882): 141–163, pl. VII(1); Rossi, “Verre représentant le Temple de Jerusalem,” *Archives de l’orient latin* 2 (1883): 439–455 (after St. Clair, “God’s House,” 6).

suggesting a court. Beyond the colonnade on the right are two huts, each with a palm tree behind it. As in S. Costanza, the trees look as if they are growing out of the cone-like roofs of the huts. This effect may at first seem a stylistic element or a technical solution—in the corner of a composition, to draw one object behind another is to locate it above that object—but on the gold-glass image the huts are not placed in a corner; there was enough room to have planted a tree next to the hut rather than above it. In all other representations of city gates or decorated architectural structures named Bethlehem and Jerusalem, palm trees, where they occur, are planted beside the structures. This indicates that the hut with the tree coming out of its roof is a motif with a specific meaning. The two structures on the gold-glass had been described as gateways, apses, and even as a landscape, until Archer St. Clair recognized them as booths and deciphered the decoration of the gold-glass as a picture of the Feast of Sukkoth.⁸⁶

If the two structures in the monumental mosaic in S. Costanza are also booths, it is probably not a mere coincidence. If we look for an explanation in a Christian context, the first thing that comes to mind is the mention of booths in the New Testament. I am not referring to the Festival of Sukkoth but simply to the structures themselves.⁸⁷ At the time of the Transfiguration, when Jesus ascends the mountain and Moses and Elijah appear, Peter says to Jesus, “‘Master, it is good for us to be here; let us make three booths, one for you, and one for Moses; and one for Elijah’; not knowing what he said” (Luke 9:33, cf. Matt. 17:4; Mark 9:4; 2 Pet. 1:16–18). As they appear in the background of this representation of *Did*, the booths may thus associate the scene with the Transfiguration. This event took place upon a mountain and included two Old Testament prophets, Moses and Elijah, both of whom experienced divine theophanies on Mount Sinai.⁸⁸ During the Transfiguration, Christ is deified and declared the source of the new Law: “This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; listen to him” (Matt. 17:5; cf. Mark 9:7; Luke 9:35; 2 Pet. 1:17). Moreover, the church fathers affirmed the eschatological character of the Transfiguration as a pointer toward the Parousia. Thus, the booths could very well refer to the Transfiguration.⁸⁹

86. St. Clair, “God’s House,” 9.

87. Much has been written on the references to Sukkoth in the New Testament. See, for instance, Charles E. Vernoff, “Sukkot: Feast of the Redemption,” *Tradition* 33, no. 4 (1999): 6–26; Timothy P. Jennet, “The Harvest of the Earth: The Feast of Sukkoth in the Book of Revelation” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1993); Jennet, “Tabernacles, Feast of,” in *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. David N. Freedman (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000); Craig R. Koester, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature, and the New Testament*, CBQMS 22 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989).

88. See Exodus 3:1–6 (the burning bush); 24:15–18; 34:4–29 (Moses receiving the Law); 1 Kings 19:8–18 (the epiphany to Elijah on Mt. Sinai).

89. Peter A. Chamberas, “The Transfiguration of Christ: A Study in the Patristic Exegesis of Scripture,” *St. Vladimirs’ Theological Quarterly* 14 (1970): 48–65.

Keeping this possible association in mind, I would, however, like to give more weight to the visual sources. Since there are no certain representations of the Transfiguration prior to the sixth century, and in these, booths do not figure, perhaps the booths refer to something else.⁹⁰

Some aspects of the festival of Sukkoth may be relevant to our discussion. Sukkoth, celebrated in the autumn from the fifteenth to the twenty-first of the month of Tishri, completes the cycle of the three Jewish pilgrimage festivals, following the Festival of Unleavened Bread, Pesach (Passover), in the spring and the Festival of Weeks, Shavuot (Pentecost), in the summer. The festival is called Sukkoth in commemoration of the temporary huts lived in by the Israelites in the desert: it is characterized by the construction of booths or huts to dwell in during the festival.⁹¹ As Moses was told by God:

You shall dwell in booths (*sukkoth*, סכּוֹת) seven days; all that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths: That your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God. (Lev. 23:42–43)

Apart from commemorating the flight from Egypt and the time spent in the desert, we have seen that the eschatological scenario linked with Sukkoth is associated with the Mosaic Law and the Land of Israel. The origin of the liturgical assembly during the Festival of Sukkoth mentioned in Zechariah is itself rooted in the biblical narrative. Before his death, Moses summons Joshua and tells him, in the sight of all the people of Israel, that he must lead them into the Promised Land:

And Moses commanded them, saying, “At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release (שְׁמִיטָה), in the feast of Tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord your God in the place which he shall choose, you shall read this law before all Israel in their hearing.” (Deut. 31:10–11)

90. The earliest possible representations are an ivory panel decorating a casket in Brescia; a wooden panel decorating the doors of the Basilica of S. Sabina in Rome, and a miniature in the Gospel of Rabulla—all subject to interpretation. See Catherine B. Tkacz, *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and the Early Christian Imagination* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 93, 221; Gisela Jeremias, *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1980), 77–80; Massimo Bernabò, ed., *Il Tetravangelo di Rabulla: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 1.56; Illustrazione del Nuovo Testamento nella Siria del VI secolo. (Folia Picta, 1.)* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008); Andreas Andreopoulos, *Metamorphosis: The Transfiguration in Byzantine Theology and Iconography* (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2005).

91. The festival is called Sukkoth in Deuteronomy (16:13–6) and Leviticus (23:24, 39–43); in Exodus (23:16) it is called the Feast of the Ingathering (of grapes and olives). The word Sukkoth (booths) was also the name of the first resting place after the exodus from Egypt (Exod. 12:37; Num. 33:5).

Moses's command unites the Law with both the Festival of Sukkoth and the future place of God's dwelling: Mount Zion—that is, the Temple Mount.⁹² King Solomon enacted this command when he dedicated the Temple during “the feast of the seventh month” (1 Kings 8): he installed the Ark of the Covenant, the Tent of Meeting (*Ohel Moed*) and the Temple implements in the new structure, although he did not then have the Law read; that aspect, however, was instituted by Ezra after the return from the Babylonian exile (Neh. 8). Thus the festival became associated with the rededication of the Temple.⁹³

I argue that if the representation in S. Costanza indeed shows two booths, these structures not only confirm the interpretation of Wisskirchen and Heid, but also add a temporal element to the composition. The event is taking place during Sukkoth, the Feast of Tabernacles, with all its implications. The booths represent the sojourn in the desert, the inauguration of the Temple and the eschatological ingathering of all nations in Jerusalem, on Mount Zion. But the supposed booths in the representation of *Dld* in S. Costanza contribute much more than a temporal dimension to the composition. They link the Old Testament eschatological vision with that of the New Testament, hinted at by the Transfiguration. Conflation of these images with the two local apostles links the Roman essence and locality with a global eschatological event, as if the composition were depicting a Roman festival of Sukkoth; commemorating the dwelling in the desert; celebrating the inauguration of the Temple and the eschatological assembly; recalling the deification of Christ and the annunciation of the new Law during the Transfiguration; and heralding the dissemination of that Law from Rome.⁹⁴ This dynamic was most certainly facilitated by the fact

92. The Mount Zion known today as the site of King David's Tomb, the House of the Last Supper, and the Dormition Abbey is not the Mount Zion that the Bible and other ancient Jewish sources refer to. That “Mount Zion” is now called the Temple Mount or the Haram al-Sherif; that is, it is the place where the Temple itself was built. See Rachel Elior, “From Priestly (and Early Christian) Mount Zion to Rabbinic Temple Mount,” in *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (Austin: University of Texas Press; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2009), 308–319. For Mount Zion in Christian thought of the fourth century, especially according to Eusebius, see Peter W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 284–308.

93. Cf. 2 Macc. 10:6. It should be noted that the New Testament inherits the Septuagint's usage of the same word, *skēnē*, for both the Sukkoth booths and the Tabernacle, the desert sanctuary (*mishkan*) that provided the vehicle for God's presence among the people. Thus, the “booths” in the Transfiguration scene may also communicate a sense of divine presence allied with the three figures and especially the glorified Christ (cf. John 1:14). I thank Dr. Ruth Clements for bringing this point to my attention.

94. It is tempting to mention in this context a statement by a Palestinian sage on the foundation of Rome, attributed to late third-century Palestine: “Said R. Levi: ‘On the day that Jeroboam set up the two golden calves, Remus and Romulus came and built two huts in Rome’”; *y. Abod. Zar.* 1:2 (39c);

that the Jerusalem Temple, in Christian terms, was no longer the place of God's dwelling, and the ritual objects from that Temple, including the copy of the old Mosaic Law, were no longer exhibited on the Temple Mount but were rather to be seen in Rome.

Had the Torah scrolls been sculpted on the Arch of Titus along with the menorah, the silver trumpets, and the table for the showbread, perhaps it would have been reasonable to designate the arch as a forerunner of the composition of *Dld* centuries later. It may be easier to recognize the influence of the presence of the spoils, especially the copy of the Law, on decoration programs that include the *Dld* picture together with the iconography of Moses receiving the Law. Such conflation decorates the group of city-gate sarcophagi to which belongs the Milan sarcophagus discussed above, and also a silver reliquary produced in Rome and found in Nea Herakleia (Figs. 15, 16).⁹⁵

The Sukkoth booths did not become a constant motif in representations of *Dld* or in other compositions of Roman art. The earliest sarcophagus decorated with *Dld*, found in the Catacomb of S. Sebastian and dated to 375 (*Rep.* I, no. 200), is so fragmentary that it is impossible to know which, if any, architectural motifs accompanied the main theme. As we have seen (Figs. 9, 13), the "city-gate" motif, with or without the labels of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, continues to appear; the identifying inscriptions mainly appear in monumental art.⁹⁶

The unique motif of the Sukkoth in S. Costanza may testify that among early representations of the *Dld*, usually dated to post-370 CE, S. Costanza is the earliest, and that later on, the narrative of the Exodus and its culmination in the Gathering of All Nations during Sukkoth at the Temple in Jerusalem was supplanted by the ideological primacy of the Law of Christ over the Jewish Law, and that of Rome over the Holy Land in the East. We will see additional examples of the same ideological stance in Chapter 4. Another explanation that may have operated simultaneously is the Jewish aspiration to renew the pilgrimage

Peter Schäfer, "Jews and Gentiles in *Yerushalmi Aboda Zarah*," in *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture*, vol. 3, ed. Peter Schäfer (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 335–352, at 342; Ra'anan Boustán, "Israelite Kinship, Christian Rome, and the Jewish Imperial Imagination: Midrashic Precursors to the Medieval 'Throne of Solomon,'" in *Jews, Christians, and the Roman Empire: The Poetics of Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Natalie B. Dohrmann and Annette Yoshiko Reed (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 167–182, at 176.

95. Thessaloniki, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Inv., BA.71; See Galit Noga-Banai, "Visual Prototype versus Biblical Text: Moses Receiving the Law in Rome," in *Sarcophagi tardoantichi, paleocristiani ed altomedievali*, ed. Hugo Brandenburg and Fabrizio Bisconti, Monumenti di antichità Cristiana 2nd ser.18 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2004), 175–185; Noga-Banai, *The Trophies of the Martyrs*, 14–24. It did not occur to me in those earlier studies that there might be, on some level, a connection with the local relics of the Temple.

96. See chapter 4 below.

festivals in Jerusalem, especially the Feast of Sukkoth, repeatedly represented in Roman Jewish art through the inclusion of the holiday's ritual symbols, such as the *ethrog* (citron) and *lulav* (palm branch). Perhaps this spurred a change of motifs or iconographic preferences within the Christian scene of *Dld*.

An association of the nonexistence of the Temple in Jerusalem, the presence of the Temple spoils, or more specifically the Mosaic Law, in Rome, with the conceiving of *Dld* is hypothetical; but contemporary Jewish art in Rome and Palestine offers strong support. As postulated in the next section, the scene of *Dld* had an impact in its own right on the production of a Jewish composition in Rome, and the Jewish composition in return may give us a clue to the time frame and formation of *Dld* in the second half of the fourth century, more precisely the last third of it. If there was a polemical dialogue centered on this image and its meaning, it worked in both directions, around common themes.

VISUAL ENCOUNTER: THE JEWISH COMPOSITION
IN THE CATACOMB OF VILLA TORLONIA
AND *DOMINUS LEGEM DAT*

In the days of the Temple's material existence, the ritual vessels were handled and seen exclusively by the priestly class, except for a short time during the three pilgrimage festivals—Passover, Shavuoth, and Sukkoth. At those times, the Temple furniture and sacred vessels were brought out from the inner precincts of the Temple and exhibited to the crowds of pilgrims.⁹⁷ The exile of the vessels from the Holy of Holies, and their absence from Jerusalem, however, were shared by all.⁹⁸ The claim to have seen the Temple vessels in Rome during the second century CE was used to enhance the authority of some rabbinic figures.⁹⁹ The Tosefta (ca. mid-third century) reports that R. Eleazar (second century) had himself seen the Temple veil in Rome (*t. Kippurim* 2:16). The same rabbi is quoted by the Jerusalem Talmud (*y. Yoma* 4:1 [41c]), within

97. Daniel R. Schwartz, "Viewing the Holy Utensils (P. Ox. V, 840)," *NTS* 32 (1986): 153–159; Gary A. Anderson, "To See Where God Dwells: The Tabernacle, the Temple, and the Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition," *Letter & Spirit* 4 (2008): 13–45; cf. Lorne R. Zelyck, "Recontextualizing Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 840," *Early Christianity* 5 (2014): 178–197.

98. Israel Knohl, "Post-biblical Sectarianism and the Priestly Schools of the Pentateuch: The Issue of Popular Participation in the Temple Cult on Festivals," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March, 1991*, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, 2 vols., STDJ 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:601–609.

99. Boustán, "Spoils of the Jerusalem Temple"; Boustán, "The Dislocation of the Temple Vessels: Mobile Sanctity and Rabbinic Rhetorics of Space," in *Jewish Studies at the Crossroads of Anthropology and History: Authority, Diaspora, Tradition*, ed. Ra'anan S. Boustán, Oren Kosansky, and Marina Rustow (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 135–146.

the context of a halakhic debate, as declaring that he had seen the head-plate of the high priest (*tzitz*). The *Sifrei zuta* (third century) reports the assertion of R. Shim'on bar Yoḥai that when he went to Rome, he saw the menorah (*Be-ha'alotekha* 8:2). The purpose of the second-century eyewitness testimonies, whether real or rhetorical, may have been to underpin the rabbis' claim to knowledge and authority in cultic matters; but as Boustani points out, it is the visual confirmation in itself that the third-, fourth- and fifth-century rabbis valued.¹⁰⁰ Having seen the spoils in Rome, whether real or in the mind's eye, contributed to their argumentation, on whatever issue, the authority of the original cult center in Jerusalem. Very much like relics, the dislocated objects translated by Titus as booty turned out, for the Jews, to be carriers of the holy power of their provenance. The Palestinian rabbis recognized the pilgrimage appeal of the sacred vessels in exile. Through the sight of these objects it was possible to observe, perhaps to sense, the sacredness of the Temple even in the Diaspora.

The Jewish sources (including Josephus, who must have seen it) do not mention the panel with the Jerusalem booty on the Arch of Titus, but we can imagine that the Jews in Rome were constantly reminded of the destruction of the Temple and the dislocation of the original liturgical vessels. According to a medieval tradition that goes back to the third century, one Jerusalemite relic ended up in the possession of the Jews in Rome: the Torah scroll taken by Titus. This was said to have been donated to a Jewish community in Rome by the emperor Alexander Severus (222–235 CE), when he constructed a synagogue for the community. The so-called Severus Scroll demonstrates, not only that biblical manuscripts from the Second Temple period may have survived until late antiquity, but also that this specific historical object, which had come directly from the Temple in Jerusalem, might have ended up in Jewish hands.¹⁰¹ This Torah signified *pars pro toto* the past and future of the Temple site in Jerusalem. If indeed the Jewish community in Rome had exclusive possession of the scroll from the Temple, it is possible that it treated this scroll as sacred relic.

100. Ibid Cf. David Noy, "Rabbi Aqiba Comes to Rome: A Jewish Pilgrimage in Reverse?," in *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*, ed. Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 373–385; Fine, "When I Went to Rome," 169–180.

101. Abraham Epstein, "Ein von Titus nach Rom gebrachter Pentateuch-Codex und seine Varianten," *MGWJ* 34 (1885): 337–51; after Armin Lange, "The Severus Scroll Variant List in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Tradition, Transmission, and Transformation from Second Temple Literature through Judaism and Christianity in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, ed. Menachem Kister et al., STDJ 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 179–207.

The Arch of Titus may be considered the first icon of Jerusalem in Rome because it represented objects identified with God's dwelling place; it embodied the sacred essence and quality of Jerusalem in Rome. As we shall see, during the fourth century, while Rome and Jerusalem underwent parallel processes of Christianization, the Temple spoils in Rome, whether the actual objects or their representations on the arch, became archetypes of Jewish identification and messianic hope, and a guarantee of salvation to come. At the same time, as discussed earlier, they were visual affirmation of the defeat and displacement of the Jews as God's people and the victory and ascendancy of the church. Thus, the objects and their representation signified two narratives based on and related to the same historical event, the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. Cultural memory in Rome, then, housed a group of objects, or rather potential motifs, waiting for the right moment to participate in an intimate and intense dialogue between Jews and Christians in Rome. Such a moment arose in the second half of the fourth century.

A complete extant monumental composition in Rome that depicts the Temple ritual objects apart from the Arch of Titus is found in situ in the wall painting of arcosolium IV of cubiculum II in the Jewish catacombs under the Villa Torlonia, dated 350–370 CE.¹⁰² An open Torah ark flanked by two large *menorot* is the main component of the painting, and minor motifs depicting ritual objects complete the arrangement (Pl. 5). There are emblematic paintings of *menorot* in the same catacomb, as well as in others. There are also plenty of representations of the Temple ritual symbols on tombstones and portable objects.¹⁰³ By focusing specifically on this well-known painting, I am not implying that either the menorah or other Jewish symbols were not represented earlier or elsewhere. For example, a menorah within a medallion carried by two figures of winged victories occupies the center of a fragmented sarcophagus front produced in third-century Rome. Of the four nude winged male figures personifying the seasons that once flanked the victory figures, only one is left,

102. Hermann Wolfgang Beyer and Hans Lietzmann, *Die Jüdische Katakomben der Villa Torlonia in Rom* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1930), 13, pl. 12; Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 13 vols. (New York: 1953–1968), 2:39, 3:817; Peter Maser, “Zur Deutung der Fresken in Arkosol IV und Cubiculum II der jüdischen Torlonia-Katakomben in Rom,” *Kairos* 17 (1975): 81–88; Umberto Maria Fasola, “Le due catacombe ebraiche di Villa Torlonia,” *RivAC* 52 (1976): 7–62; Rachel Hachlili, *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-Armed Candelabrum: Origin, Form and Significance* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), cat no. D7.2, pl. II–49 fig. II–28b; Lee I. Levine, *Visual Judaism in Late Antiquity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 148; Leonard V. Rutgers, *The Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 59–66.

103. Hachlili, *The Menorah*.

representing winter.¹⁰⁴ In arcosolium IV of cubiculum II, however, the liturgical motifs compose a group representation in a single frame defined by the vaulted wall, and the motifs themselves are arranged in a hierarchical representative layout.¹⁰⁵ The composition is dominated by an open Torah ark containing scrolls and flanked by two large *menorot*. Other ritual objects connected with the Tabernacle/Temple complete the arrangement; these include a *shofar* (ram's horn), a vase or a jar, an *ethrog* and a *lulav*. In addition, a sun and a crescent moon on a cloudy background are seen on either side of the tympanum. Above the tympanum apex a star and painted curtains separate the composition from the cubiculum vault.

The fact that we have only one extensive, monumental representation of this composition in Rome is rather surprising if we credit comparable contemporary representations on portable art as indicators for the distribution and popularity of this configuration. Two of the fourteen extant Roman gold-glass bottoms bearing Jewish symbols represent similar compositions, and two others carry variations of it.¹⁰⁶ One of the two gold glasses, held today in Berlin, has a rectangular frame and is divided into two registers. The upper register shows the Torah ark with scrolls flanked by *menorot*, accompanied by a *shofar*, a vase, an *ethrog*, and a *lulav*. The lower part contains an inscription and a table with a fish(?) (Pl. 6).¹⁰⁷ The second glass, in New York, has a round double frame containing an inscription, and the inner space is divided in the middle. The *menorot*, ark, and implements are again above, and what might be a table is below.¹⁰⁸ On two other gold-glasses, today in the Vatican and in Jerusalem, *menorot* with *shofar*, *ethrog*, *lulav*, and vases (oil jugs?) are depicted in the lower register, and the open ark with scrolls is in the upper part, flanked by seated lions (Pl. 7).¹⁰⁹ The variety of compositions of the same topic reflected in the gold-glass bottoms

104. For a comprehensive catalogue of representations of the menorah in all media, and also discussion of the identification function, see Hachlili, *The Menorah*, where the sarcophagus fragment, from Via Randanini, is no. D9.3 pl. II-60.i; note there additional sarcophagi decorated with the menorah. See also, Lihi Habas, "Identity and Hope: The Menorah in the Jewish Catacombs of Rome, in *In the Light of the Menorah: Story of a Symbol*, ed. Yael Israeli (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1999), 76-80, fig. 5.

105. For other paintings in the Villa Torlonia catacombs, see Hachlili, *The Menorah*, cat. nos. D7.1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

106. Hachlili, *The Menorah*, cat. nos. D10.1-4.

107. Berlin, Staatliches Museum, inv. no. J6700; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 2:112, 3:874; Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 592; Hachlili, *The Menorah*, cat. no. D10.1, fig. II-33a.

108. Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 18.145.1a,b; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* 2:112, 3:973; Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 591; Hachlili, *The Menorah*, cat. no. D10.2, fig. II-33b.

109. Museo Sacro, Biblioteca Vaticana, no. 233; The Israel Museum in Jerusalem, inv. no. 66.36.15; Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 2:110, 3:964-966; Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 590; Hachlili, *The Menorah*, cat. nos. D10.3-4, figs. II-33c,d, pl. II-62.

testifies to the popularity of the topic among the Jewish community in Rome. In all Roman variations of this design, the central motif that has been flanked by lions or *menorot* is the ark with the scrolls of the Mosaic Law inside. Sometimes the rolled scrolls are emphasized by red paint.¹¹⁰

If the tradition concerning the Severus Scroll carries realistic elements, then it is possible that the motif of the scrolls was meant to invoke the history of the local Jewish community. We will then need to ask why these representations of the scrolls appeared in the second half of the fourth century. This question may be answered by considering the broader context for the emergence of the composition: Is it a mere coincidence that a composition that heralds the Mosaic Law is contemporary with representations of the presentation of the new Law to Peter and Paul? As I shall argue, the dissemination of the scene of *Dld* could well have influenced the decision to display the scrolls of the Mosaic Law at the center of the Jewish composition. This proposal may be supported by comparing the Roman representations with similar compositions in Palestinian synagogues, where the scrolls of the Law are absent.¹¹¹ Moreover, I will go on to argue that the encounter between Jewish and Christian compositions should be seen as associated with, if not as a visual expression of, the *Zeitgeist* in the wake of the nonevent of the emperor Julian's attempt in 363 to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem.

The earliest monumental representation in Palestine of a similar composition found in situ is the synagogue mosaic floor in Hammat Tiberias (Fig. 17). The mosaic, dating to the second half of the fourth century, belongs to the second building phase of the synagogue.¹¹² As in Rome, the *menorot* are accompanied

110. As, for instance, in a gold-glass bottom in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem (inv. no. 1966.36.15).

111. In fact, within the Palestinian repertoire of our group of motifs, only the Beth She'arim tombstones, dated to the third to fourth century, show open Torah arks with scrolls. All were found in Catacomb 1, Hall 13. See Hachlili, *The Menorah*, cat. nos. IS11.24, 25, 26, 27 figs. II–26a,c,d on p. 86. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 1:95, 3:58, 60, 61, 62. Perhaps the Diaspora Jews buried in this important necropolis were responsible for this visual importation, although the inscriptions that have been found testify to Jews of the Greek Diaspora rather than Rome. See Nachman Avigad, *Bet She'arim: Report on the Excavation during 1953–1958*, vol. 3: *Catacombs 12–23* (Jerusalem: Massada, 1976), 260, 268–270; Moshe Schwabe and Baruch Lifshitz, *Bet She'arim: Report on the Excavation during 1953–1958*, vol. 2: *The Greek Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Massada, 1974), 217–221; Tessa Rajak, “The Rabbinic Dead and the Diaspora Dead at Beth She'arim,” in *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture*, I, ed. Peter Schäfer, TSAJ 71 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 349–366; repr. in Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 479–499, esp. 487–497. For the interpretation of the motif as a Temple façade, see David Milson, *Art and Architecture of the Synagogue in Late Antique Palestine in the Shadow of the Church* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), chap. 4. For the interpretation of the central motif as the Torah shrine, see Jodi Magness, “Heaven on Earth: Helios and the Zodiac Cycle in Ancient Palestinian Synagogues,” *DOP* 59 (2007): 1–52, esp. 18–20, 37, with earlier bibliography.

112. On the basis of pottery and coins found at the site, Moshe Dothan dated the mosaic to the first half of the fourth century. See Moshe Dothan, *Hammat Tiberias: Early Synagogues and the Hellenistic and Roman Remains* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983). However, stylistic comparisons have led Rina Talgam to propose a dating in the second half of the fourth century. See Rina Talgam, “Mosaics

by the Tabernacle/Temple implements; but here the open ark with scrolls is replaced by what looks like a closed cabinet or a closed door or an architectural element that may also represent the Temple façade. Further, the vase/jar is replaced by a *machta* (an incense shovel) and the overhanging curtain framing the group is reduced to a fastened-back drapery that partly covers the central façade. The sun and crescent moon as such are not represented in Hammat, but an adjacent panel with zodiac wheel revolving around Helios in a quadriga and framed by personifications of the four seasons forms the center of the pavement. Despite the differences in detail, the overall impression is that the composition of the uppermost panel in Hammat is similar to the painting in the arcosolium wall in Rome.

The mosaic floor with the ark between two *menorot* in Hammat is the earliest of its kind in a group of six (so far) early Byzantine floor mosaics in Palestinian synagogues, dated between the fourth and sixth centuries.¹¹³ For whatever reason, this composition was initiated in the second half of the fourth century, and it continued to have a relevant meaning and significance in the fifth and sixth centuries as well. Almost always, the composition with the ark and *menorot* is in the uppermost panel of the oblong pavement, in front of the *bema*. The early date of Hammat is reflected in the composition's frame. In the later examples, as, for instance, the fifth-century mosaic in the Sepphoris synagogue or the sixth-century one in Beth Alpha, one frame encloses the entire decorative program; in Hammat Tiberias, the panel containing the ark and *menorot* is

in Israel in the Light of Recent Discoveries," *Kadmoniot* 116 (1998): 74–89, esp. 79 (in Hebrew); Talgam, "Similarities and Differences between Synagogue and Church Mosaics in Palestine during the Byzantine and Umayyad Periods," in *From Dura to Sepphoris: Studies in Jewish Art and Society in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lee I. Levine and Zeev Weiss, *JRASup* 40 (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2000), 93–110, esp. 100–101. Through analysis of the coins, pottery, and inscriptions, Jodi Magness dated the floor mosaic to the late fourth to early fifth century. See her "Heaven on Earth," 8–13.

113. The other representations of this composition (ark between *menorot*) are in the mosaic pavements of the synagogues in Susiya (Hachlili, *The Menorah*, cat. no. IS3.3); Sepphoris (cat. no. IS3.7); Beth Shean (cat. no. IS3.6); Beth Alpha (cat. no. IS3.2 pl. II–8); and Na'aran (cat. no. IS3.4). See Zeev Weiss, *The Sepphoris Synagogue: Deciphering an Ancient Message through its Archaeological and Socio-Historical Contexts* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2005), 65–77; Milson, *Art and Architecture of the Synagogue*, 127–133; Rina Talgam, *Mosaics of Faith: Floors of Pagans, Jews, Samaritans, Christians, and Muslims in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi; University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 257–332. This count does not include a sixth-century mosaic pavement from a synagogue in Huseifa (Mt. Carmel), which features *menorot* with ritual implements placed on both sides of a wreath at the entrance; this panel is separated from the central pavement, which shows remnants of a zodiac wheel. See Hachlili, *The Menorah*, cat. no. IS3.5 pl. II–11a,b. In the Susiya synagogue, which is of a broadhouse type, the *menorot* panel is located in front of the secondary *bema*. See Shmarya Gutman, Zeev Yeivin, and Ehud Netzer, "Excavations in the Synagogue at Horvat Susiya," in *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. Lee I. Levine (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981) 123–128. On broadhouse-type synagogues, see recently Milson, *Art and Architecture of the Synagogue*, 26–28.

separated from the other two panels and its width is not the same: “Their co-existence looks like the result of an ad hoc inspiration, while their pronounced classical style denotes their dependence on pagan models.”¹¹⁴

The representative composition of the ark between *menorot* as displayed in Palestine has usually been read as one component in the larger context of its decorative program. That is, its meaning is seen primarily as constituted by its association with the zodiac panel in the second half of the fourth-century mosaic in Hammat, and with the zodiac plus the Aqedah (Sacrifice of Isaac), which comprise the floor mosaics of the synagogues in Sepphoris and Beth Alpha, constructed in the fifth and sixth centuries respectively.¹¹⁵ The story of the Aqedah in these later compositions expands and complements the significance of our target scene, making it part of a history of redemption that stretches from the Aqedah in the past, held to have taken place on the future site of the Temple (the locus of the divine presence in Jerusalem), to the future restoration of the Temple.¹¹⁶ Given the stand-alone use of this composition in the catacomb’s arcosolium wall, and as framed in Hammat Tiberias, however, the composition of the ark between the two *menorot* can and should be treated as an independent grouping of motifs, as well. When so considered, more broadly in comparison to the visual culture of the period, the overall association with the Temple is not altered, but the eschatological meaning of the composition as a unit may be grasped independently.

A variety of suggestions have been made as to why two *menorot* were used to signal the expected redemption, instead of the single menorah that stood in the holy of holies, as represented on the Arch of Titus.¹¹⁷ These suggested solutions, based on archaeological evidence, have ranged from practical to historical and liturgical interpretations related to the Temple and to the Palestinian synagogues.¹¹⁸ But as I noted in an earlier study, a solution may be found using a

114. Bianca Kühnel, “The Synagogue Floor Mosaic in Sepphoris: Between Paganism and Christianity,” in Levine and Weiss, *From Dura to Sepphoris*, 31–43, on 40.

115. Most recent, with extensive bibliography, see Talgam, *Mosaics of Faith*, 265–303; also Levine, *Visual Judaism in Late Antiquity*.

116. See 2 Chronicles 3:1; Kühnel, “Synagogue Floor Mosaic in Sepphoris,” 31; Weiss, *Sepphoris Synagogue*.

117. A single menorah is often depicted in other compositions and in various media. Note for instance, the wall painting of the third-century synagogue in Dura Europos. Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 28 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990), figs. 3, 4. For gold-glass bottoms decorated with a single menorah, see Hachlili, *The Menorah*, D10.5,6,9,10,11.

118. For a summary, see Noga-Banai, “Between the *Menorot*,” with related bibliography, 23–24. For a comparison of the popular use of the menorah with the widespread use of the cross in the Byzantine period, see Lee I. Levine, “The History and Significance of the Menorah in Antiquity,” in Levine and Weiss, *From Dura to Sepphoris*, 131–153, esp. 150–153.

different approach, concentrating on parallel representations in the visual field around the Mediterranean. It seems that the pair of *menorot* may be considered the Jewish adaptation of representations of monumental pairs of candlesticks with burning candles, seen in both pagan predecessors and contemporary Christian examples. Pagan examples are usually found in calendrical decorative programs; Christian examples are primarily to be seen in eschatological settings, whether in funerary or ecclesiastic art. Sometimes, the flames of the candles in these non-Jewish examples are not even; one may be stronger than the other, suggesting an allusion to the cycle of day and night.¹¹⁹ Like the sun and the moon, the pair of candlesticks contributes a cyclic dimension to the visualization of the promised and expected Parousia. It seems plausible to suggest that the pair of *menorot* functions similarly to allude to the cycle of time, except that they express a Jewish chronometer, promising redemption on Jewish terms.

When the synagogue floor at Hammat Tiberias was decorated in the second half of the fourth century, Jerusalem was close but out of reach. The Jews of Hammat Tiberias, the residence of the Jewish Patriarch at the time, manifested their longings through combining the *menorot* panel with that of the zodiac and the four seasons. Together, the pair of *menorot* and the cosmic signs suggested the cycle of time that was to bring the expected redemption (*geulah*). But it should be noted that the notion of time could be indicated by the pair of *menorot* alone. The zodiac emphasized this notion, or rather, made it explicit.¹²⁰ Thus, the expected redemption implied by the *menorot* may also explain the popularity of the two *menorot* on gold-glass vessels fashioned in Rome, which were suitable as gifts for the turning of the year as well as for reuse in funerary contexts.¹²¹ This same eschatological significance may also explain the painting of the sun and crescent moon next to—and the star above—the open ark in the catacomb of Villa Torlonia.¹²² The inclusion of these heavenly bodies was recently interpreted as illustrating the star of the messiah, the divine radiance that is to accompany the redemption of Jerusalem as portrayed in Isaiah 60:1–3, 19–20:

119. See examples in Noga-Banai, *Trophies of the Martyrs*, 66–80.

120. In fourth-century Palestine, the Jewish Patriarchate, based in Tiberias, had responsibility for regulating the Jewish calendar. For a discussion of this role in relation to the design of the synagogue floor in Hammat Tiberias, which carries the earliest zodiac design in a synagogue context, see Rina Talgam, “The Zodiac and Helios in the Synagogue: Between Paganism and Christianity,” in *Follow the Wise? Studies in Jewish History and Culture in Honor of Lee I. Levine*, ed. Oded Irshai et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 63–80 (in Hebrew); Talgam, *Mosaics of Faith*, 272–276.

121. See discussion below on the function of the gold-glass vessels.

122. Cf. Peter Maser, “Darstellungen des Olam Hab-ba in der spätantik-jüdischen Kunst Roms?,” *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum: Gedenkschrift für Alfred Stuiber*, JACSup 9 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982), 228–238.

Arise, shine, for your light has dawned; the Presence of the Lord has shone upon you. Behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and thick clouds the peoples; but upon you the Lord will shine, and his presence be seen over you. And nations shall walk by your light; kings, by your shining radiance. . . . No longer shall you need the sun for light by day, nor the shining of the moon for radiance; for the Lord shall be your light everlasting, your God shall be your glory. Your sun shall set no more, your moon no more withdraw; for the Lord shall be a light to you forever, and your days of mourning shall be ended.¹²³

The fact that artistic productions in two centers so distant from one another simultaneously recruited similar compositions to express hopes for future redemption associated with the Temple, suggests a shared historical incentive. The short-lived aspiration of the emperor Julian to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem and restore the sacrifices there was one of the most striking events of the period for the Jews of the empire, wherever they lived.¹²⁴

This you ought to do, in order that, when I have successfully concluded the war with Persia, I may rebuild by my own efforts the sacred city of Jerusalem, which for so many years you have longed to see inhabited, and may bring settlers there, and, together with you, may glorify the Most High God therein.¹²⁵

The emperor's proclamation of his intentions reached Jewish communities all over the empire, and they reacted with enthusiasm. Messianic expectations were

123. Hillel I. Newman, "Stars of the Messiah," in Kister et al., *Tradition, Transmission, and Transformation*, 272–303, esp. 289–291.

124. See Johanan Hans Levy, *Studies in Jewish Hellenism* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1969), 221–254 (in Hebrew); Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Jews under Roman and Byzantine Rule* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1976; repr.: Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1984), chap. 8; Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews*, 138–148; Oded Irshai, "Historical Aspects of the Christian-Jewish Polemic concerning the Church of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century (In the Light of Patristic and Rabbinic Literature)" (PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), 148–168 (in Hebrew with an English summary); Robert J. Penella, "Fire Parallelisms in Some Christian Accounts of the Termination of Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem," in *Tria Lustra*, ed. H. D. Jocelyn, Liverpool Classical Papers 3 (Liverpool: Liverpool Classical Monthly, 1993), 71–74; Penella, "Emperor Julian, the Temple of Jerusalem and the God of the Jews," *Koinonia* 23, no. 2 (1999): 15–31; Johannes Hahn, "Kaiser Julian und ein dritter Tempel? Idee, Wirklichkeit und Wirkung eines gescheiterten Projektes," in *Zerstörungen des Jerusalemer Tempels: Geschehen-Wahrnehmung-Bewältigung*, ed. Johannes Hahn (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 237–262; Sivan, *Palestine in Late Antiquity*, 204–210. For more recent research on Julian, see *Emperor and Author: The Writings of Julian the Apostate*, ed. Nicholas Baker-Brian and Shaun Tougher (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2012); and Theresa Nesselrath, *Kaiser Julian und die Repaganisierung des Reiches: Konzept und Vorbilder*, JACSup 9 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2013).

125. Julian, *Ep. 51 To the Jews*, in *Works*, trans. W. C. Wright, LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann, 1923; repr. 1961), 3:181

quite common at that time and Julian's plan may have caused a sense of the imminence of the redemption.¹²⁶ Rufinus describes how the Jews of Italy felt as if the Messiah had come.¹²⁷ Thus, the seemingly supernatural interruption of the reconstruction of the Temple by an earthquake shortly after work was begun, in May 363, followed by Julian's death in battle against the Persians (June 16 of the same year) must have caused distress and confusion.¹²⁸ The Jewish textual sources are almost completely silent about these significant events, as though either concealing profound disappointment or consciously ignoring them. In contrast to the silence and restraint of the Jewish leaders, Cyril of Jerusalem and Ephrem the Syrian, as well as Gregory Nazianzus and John Chrysostom, expressed anything but indifference to Julian's undertaking and the way it came to an end, casting the sequence of events as fulfillment of Jesus's prophecy: "See you not all these things? Verily, I say to you, there will not be left here one stone upon another, that will not be thrown down" (Matt. 24:2; cf. Luke 19:43–44; Mark 13:2).¹²⁹ It has recently been suggested that the unexpected silence of the rabbis might have had to do with their reservations concerning messianic computations and speculations on the End of Days taking place among other circles in Jewish society.¹³⁰ Yet I believe that the ark and *menorot* composition, found both in Rome and in Hammat Tiberias and its successors, reflects messianic expectations that did *not* vanish after Julian's failed effort. On the contrary, the Jews took to recalculating the expected time of redemption.¹³¹

126. The year 363 coincided with various traditions of calculating the End of Days, where typologically the 400 or 430 years in Egyptian exile were regarded as the forerunner to the period under Roman rule; the countdown began either from the earliest days of the Roman hegemony in Palestine (63 BC) or from the destruction of the second Temple (70 CE). See Irshai, "Historical Aspects of the Christian-Jewish Polemic," 165–168; Irshai, "Dating the Eschaton: Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Calculations in Late Antiquity," in *Apocalyptic Time*, ed. Albert I. Baumgarten, Numen Book Series: Studies in the History of Religions 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 113–153, esp. 124–127, 133, 143.

127. Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 10.38–40 (ed. Eduard Schwartz and Theodore Mommsen, GCS n.s. 9, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903, 997).

128. David B. Levenson, "The Palestinian Earthquake of May 363 in Philostorgius, the Syriac *Chronicon miscellaneum*, and the Letter Attributed to Cyril on the Rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple," *JLA* 6, no. 1 (2013): 60–83.

129. See Oded Irshai's interpretation of Cyril of Jerusalem's *Fifteenth Catechetical Sermon*. Irshai, "Historical Aspects of the Christian-Jewish Polemic," chap. 5; Ephrem the Syrian, *Carm. adv. Julian* 1.16–17; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Contra Julianum* 5.3.4. See also Irshai, "Dating the Eschaton," 142–143; Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews*, 128–160. For reflections after the event, see Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* 10.38–40; Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccl.* 8.9; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.20; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.22; Theodoret of Cyrus, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.5. For the full range of sources, see David B. Levenson, "The Ancient and Medieval Sources for the Emperor Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Jerusalem Temple," *JSJ* 35 (2004): 409–460.

130. Irshai, "Dating the Eschaton," 143.

131. See the discussion in Noga-Banai, "Between the *Menorot*." These recalculations were modeled on the biblical precedent of the deliverance from Egypt, like the eschatological computations made after the destruction of the Second Temple. See Irshai, "Historical Aspects of the Christian-Jewish Polemic," 166; Irshai, "Dating the Eschaton," 133–145.

As these fifth- and sixth-century synagogue floor mosaics proclaim, what may seem like a transient episode in the history of the Jews of the early Byzantine Empire left an enduring stamp on the visual records of Jewish memory, especially in Palestine. However, the contrast between the Palestinian and Roman designs is also revealing. The open Torah ark with its visible scrolls in the Villa Torlonia painting, as well as on Roman gold-glass vessels, directs us to the local Roman situation for the origin of the difference between these contemporary Jewish responses.

I believe that the emergence of the Roman version of this scene was influenced by the Roman innovation of the *Dld* scene, which itself may have been inspired by the presence of the Temple spoils, especially that of the Mosaic Law, in Rome.¹³² The correlation between these two images can be discerned by comparing the distribution of their reproductions in portable art. Like the ark between *menorot*, *Dld* also reappeared on gold-glass bottoms from the second half of the fourth century, as, for instance, the gold-glass fragment in the Museo Sacro (Pl. 1).¹³³ The scene occupies most of the space on the small object. It is divided into two registers: Christ at the center is flanked by Peter and Paul, with two palm trees (only one remains) close to the figures on either side. Below is a group of smaller motifs. The Lamb of God stands on the hill from which the four rivers flow, while a procession of lambs comes out of two architectural units located in the corners. Above the architectural segments and the lamb, an inscription reads: IERUSALE (Jerusalem), IORDANES (Jordan), and BETLE (Bethlehem). Another version is represented on a gold-glass bottom that is now in Toledo (Ohio, Pl. 2).¹³⁴ Notwithstanding the very small medium, the scene has not lost its representative character, dominated by the three main figures, as we saw in S. Costanza. The distribution pattern and variations within the representations of *Dld* correspond to the distribution pattern and variations within the Jewish representative composition in monumental and portable art. Thus one may suggest that the particular Roman Jewish preference for making the scrolls of the Law in the open ark visible was influenced by the contemporary creation and distribution of the Christian *Dld*.¹³⁵

132. See discussion above (pp. 25–36).

133. See n. 80 above.

134. The Toledo Museum of Art, inv. no. 67.12; Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century; Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nov. 19, 1977 through Feb. 12, 1978* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), cat. no. 503.

135. Three tombstones discovered in the Jewish catacombs in Monteverde and one found in the funerary complex under Villa Torlonia depict an open ark with scrolls, flanked by *menorot*; all are dated to the third to fourth centuries. Two of the Monteverde tombstones have Greek inscriptions and one has Latin in Greek letters; see Hachlili, *The Menorah*, cat. nos. D8.3–5, pl. II–53 figs. IV–10a,b,c; Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, nos. 185, 187, 195. The inscription on the stone from Villa Torlonia is in Latin; see Hachlili, *The Menorah*, cat. no. D8.72, pl. II–54 fig. IV–10d. Umberto Maria Fasola, *Le Catacombe di S. Gennaro a*

There is no doubt that Roman Jews were familiar with the local Christian visual repertoire; this was probably also true the other way around. In fourth-century Rome, the same gold-glass workshops catered to Christian, Jewish, and sometimes even pagan patrons; customers of all stripes at some stage broke the glass vessels and reused the decorated bottoms of the vessels in funerary contexts.¹³⁶ For instance, two gold-glass bottoms decorated with an ark between two lions were made in the same workshop as a gold-glass bottom decorated with figures of the apostles and another showing the scene of the healing of the paralytic (Mark 2:1–12; Matt. 9:1–7; Luke 5:18–26).¹³⁷ In view of the images and inscriptions that decorate some of these vessels, it is generally held that they were originally designed as gifts for the New Year.¹³⁸ Did the Jews have a repertoire of their own for the Roman New Year, or did they adapt the pagan custom for the Jewish New Year or other festival? Supporting the notion of Jewish adaption are the Greek benedictions in Latin cut in gold leaf into some of the glass vessels. On the one that we saw earlier, representing the celebration of Sukkoth, the letters read *PIE ZESIS ELARES* (Drink, Live, Elares).¹³⁹ The one in Berlin mentions, in addition to the order “drink and live,” a couple with their children.¹⁴⁰ One thing is certain: that these objects were found in the catacombs testifies to the fact that both Christian and Jews reused them in funerary contexts. Moreover, that the scrolls also appear in the arks represented on gold-glass vessels, which were not originally made to be used in funerary contexts, supports the argument that the difference between the Palestinian and the Roman representations of this

Capodimonte (Rome: Editalia, 1975), 26, fig. 11; Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 516. The uncertainty of the dating of these stones makes it difficult to decide which of the motifs, the ark between *menorot* or the *Dld*, initiated the visual discourse. As I suggest here, although both the Jewish and Christian compositions were produced at more or less the same time, the combination of the open ark with the *menorot* should be considered a response rather than a cause.

136. Josef Engemann, “Bemerkungen zu römischen Gläsern mit Goldfoliendekor,” *JAC* 11–12 (1968–69): 7–25, esp. 10; Rutgers, *Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism*, 96; Daniel T. Howells, *A Catalogue of the Late Antique Gold Glass in the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 2015), 57–58.

137. Engemann, “Bemerkungen zu römischen Gläsern,” 17–20.

138. For a short recent summary of their function, see Grig, *Portraits, Pontiffs, and the Christianization of Fourth-Century Rome*, 203–206; Howells, *Catalogue of the Late Antique Gold Glass*, 60–65. Grig (p. 216) and Katherine L. Lutraan, “Late Roman Gold-Glass: Images and Inscriptions” (MA thesis, McMaster University, 2006), 113, argue that gold-glass bottoms decorated with portraits of the saints, especially Peter and Paul, were used to commemorate their feast days. In terms of their original function, the gold-glass vessels are often mentioned in one breath with countornate medallions and consular ivory diptychs; thus, they were artefacts made for special occasions. See Engemann, “Bemerkungen zu römischen Gläsern,” 12–16; Leonard V. Rutgers, *The Jews in Late Antique Rome: Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 84n97.

139. For a slightly different reading, see Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 590.

140. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, no. 592.

composition does not reside in a difference of cultic function, but in the irrelevance of the scrolls to this specific composition in its Palestinian configuration.

The common workshop identity of these artifacts, manifested in the similarities of their forms, production techniques, and functions, is not exclusive to gold-glass production. It figures also in catacomb layouts, tomb forms, wall paintings, and sarcophagi.¹⁴¹ The funerary finds provide evidence of a stimulating cultural interaction between Jews and non-Jews in the city.¹⁴² They also confirm the eschatological turn taken by the scroll of the Law, along with the other Temple implements, between the exile to Rome in the first century and the second half of the fourth century. Thus, the shared visual discourse suggested by the distribution of the *Dld* and the open Torah ark with scrolls indicates that the connections were more complex and meaningful than has yet been supposed, and that the visual impact of these compositions was not confined to the areas of medium, form, and technique stemming from a common workshop identity. This impact could also have been related to local artefacts that conferred status on the Roman communities, such as the scroll of the Mosaic Law that was kept in Rome, on the one hand, and the tombs with the relics of Peter and Paul, the preeminent apostles, on the other. At the same time, this visual discourse might also have had geopolitical and religious dimensions in counterpoint to Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple.

The visual dialogue in Rome thus described may fill in a lacuna in the textual sources. As far as I know, there is no specific text that describes the presence in Rome of the scroll of the Law from Jerusalem as a trigger of intercultural or interreligious discourse between Christians and Jews.¹⁴³ There may have been

141. On the phenomenon of the common workshop identity of such Roman artefacts, see Rutgers, *Jews in Late Antique Rome*, 67–107, esp. 92–107; and Engemann, “Bemerkungen zu römischen Gläsern,” 12–16.

142. Rutgers, *Jews in Late Antique Rome*, 73–77; Rutgers, *Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism*, 73–82; cf. Hachlili, *The Menorah*, 255–256, who speaks in favor of pattern books used by the artists rather than common workshops.

143. A roughly contemporary testimony to a debate concerning the Jewish Law may be found in the *Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*, a text that was written in Rome, by either a Jewish or Christian lawyer, at some point during the fourth century. It compares two sets of laws, the Roman and the Mosaic. The individual sections, usually beginning with *Moses dicit*, introduce quotations of Pentateuchal law followed by a selection of Roman laws. The scholarly world continues to debate whether this text appeared early in the century or toward its end. Rutgers, *Jews in Late Antique Rome*, 248–249, suggests that it was most likely written by a Roman Jew “to stress the legitimacy of traditional Jewish law in a period when this law had come increasingly under attack by Christian theologians.” For the *Collatio* as a pre-Constantinian work with later additions, see Alfredo Mordechai Rabello, “Determining the Date of *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*: The Problem of Its Second Recension or Its Use in the Fourth Century,” in *For Uriel: Studies in the History of Israel in Antiquity Presented to Professor Uriel Rappaport*, ed. Menachem Mor et al. (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 2005), 385–414 (in Hebrew); Rabello reviews earlier scholarly work and includes related bibliography. Most recently, Robert M. Frakes, *Compiling the “Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum” in Late Antiquity*

some Roman interference with internal Jewish jurisdiction at the time, which could have evoked some Jewish response or polemic reaction.¹⁴⁴ The visual dialogue, however, goes hand in hand with declarations that from the time of Justin had been made again and again, not least by Julian, that without a temple for the practice thereof, the Mosaic Law was not valid.¹⁴⁵ The church fathers were sure that the Christians were those destined to fulfill the prophecy in Jeremiah 31:31–32:

Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah—not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, My covenant which they broke, though I was a husband to them, says the Lord.¹⁴⁶

Julian certainly earned the Christians' *schadenfreude*, because in acting against them, he based himself nonetheless on one of their foundational arguments: that the legitimacy of the Mosaic Law is dependent on the existence of the Temple.¹⁴⁷

Julian's plan, and its collapse, completed the watershed of the events of 70 CE. It refreshed the local collective memory of Roman citizens, Jewish and Christian alike, by calling to mind Titus's *translatio* of the Torah scroll(s) from Jerusalem to Rome; the absence of the *Shekinah* from Jerusalem; and the presumed and highly symbolic presence of what might be considered a Jerusalemite relic in the city. By displaying the booths in connection with the Second Coming of Christ and the presentation of the new Law to the local founding authorities of the Roman church, *Dld* in S. Costanza referred to the absence of the Temple and the liturgy related to it, especially during the Festival of Tabernacles.¹⁴⁸ By positioning the Law in the midst of the Temple implements and the cosmic symbols, the Jewish composition in Villa Torlonia alluded to the hope of celebrating the festival again at the Temple in Jerusalem.

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), argues that the *Collatio* was written by a Christian lawyer in the last years of the fourth century, in an attempt to show pagans the connection between the Law of the One God and traditional Roman law.

144. As, for instance, with regard to marriage customs. See Rutgers, *Jews in Late Antique Rome*, 248–249.

145. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews*, 135–137. During the second half of the fourth century, Christian writers also turned their attention to the old question of the validity or invalidity of the Pentateuchal laws, basing themselves on a renewed concern with Paul's Epistles. See Rutgers, *Jews in Late Antique Rome*, 226–227, for details.

146. See the discussion in Rutgers, *Jews in Late Antique Rome*, 224.

147. See Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews*, 138–145.

148. Cf. the discussion in chapter 4 below on the apse mosaic in Santa Pudenziana.

The significant episode of Julian was recently credited with possible responsibility for the emergence of another dialogue between Christians and Jews at this time, not conducted in the visual arena, although very picturesque. Israel Yuval has associated the emergence of the legend of *Vindicta Salvatoris* (The Vengeance of the Savior) with the significance of the destruction of the Temple for Christians in the post-Julian period.¹⁴⁹ According to this legend, Titus is cured of a painful malady¹⁵⁰ and swears to take revenge on the Jews for the Crucifixion: “My King and my God, Your face I have never seen, and You have cured my disease. Order me to set sail in a ship over the seas to the land of your birth to wreak vengeance on your enemies, and help me, my Lord, to destroy them and to avenge Your death.”¹⁵¹ The legend, which actually rehabilitates or Christianizes Titus, derived from the long-standing idea that the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem was a punishment for the Crucifixion.¹⁵² The Jews responded with *Vindicta Dei*, a mirror legend about the demise of Titus—except that in their version, as told in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Gittin* 56b), Titus dies in great suffering after a gnat knocks against his brains for seven years.¹⁵³

If we contextualize the visual dialogue between the Jews and Christians in Rome in connection with both the specific sequence of historical events related to Julian’s Temple project and the presence of the spoils in Rome, one element of the visual landscape still needs to be fit into place: the presentation of *Dld* that supposedly decorated the apse of St. Peter’s basilica, as seen in the reconstruction based on sixteen-century documentation (Fig. 18).¹⁵⁴ According to most

149. Israel J. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb*, 44–49. The earliest extant version of the legend is in a ninth-century Latin manuscript produced in Flanders.

150. Either a wasp nesting in his nose, or an ulcer.

151. “Rex meus et deus meus, quia nunquam te vidi et sanum me fecisti: iube me ambulare cum navigo super aquas in terram nativitatis tuae, ut faciam vindictam de inimicis tuis; et adiuva me, domine, ut possim eos delere et mortem tuam vindicare.” Text and translation are given in Stephen K. Wright, *The Vengeance of Our Lord: Medieval Dramatizations of the Destructions of Jerusalem* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), 28–31; the quote is on p. 30.

152. For instance, the Spanish poet Prudentius (348–413), in his anti-heretical poem, *The Divinity of Christ (Apotheosis)*, brings together the lesson Titus taught the Jews and their destiny to wander in ever-shifting exile as penalty for the murder and denial of Christ. *Liber Apotheosis*, 538–548; Prudentius, trans. Henry John Thomson, 2 vols., LCL (London: Heinemann; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 1:161.

153. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb*, 44–46, with earlier bibliography; Yuval, “The Myth of the Jewish Exile from the Land of Israel: A Demonstration of Irenic Scholarship,” *Common Knowledge* 12, no. 1 (2006): 16–33, on 25; Galit Hasan-Rokem, “Within Limits and Beyond: History and Body in Midrashic Texts,” *International Folklore Review* 9 (1993) 5–10.

154. The apse mosaic remained in place until the late sixteenth century, when it gave way to the building of the new St. Peter’s. A drawing by the notary Quintiliano Gargario (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. S. Pietro, A. 64, fol. 50) documents the medieval mosaic. A reproduction with full description may be found, for example, in Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, 205; Arbeiter, *Alt-St. Peter*,

scholars, the apse already showed this scene by the mid-fourth century; thus it dates before the reign of Julian.¹⁵⁵ It certainly seems suitable that *Dld* would decorate the basilica built over the tomb of the disciple to whom Christ gave authority over the Christian faithful (Matt. 16:18–19). Before the work of Stanley and Arbeiter, it was thought that both churches had been decorated by artists hired by the Constantinian royal family; thus the *Dld* mosaic in S. Costanza was thought to be related directly to the prototype in the church of St. Peter. Various details in the medieval apse of St. Peter, decorated at the time of Pope Innocents III (1198–1216) and his two successors (Honorius III [1216–1227] and Gregory IX [1227–1241]) are said to have been drawn from the earlier representation of the scene.¹⁵⁶ Since the niche mosaic in S. Costanza is now dated ca. 370, however, and given that the earliest sarcophagi decorated with the scene of *Dld* are dated to 370–375, we need to account for the gap in time between the supposed decoration of St. Peter's church, ca. 350, and the rest of the representations.

Two possibilities may be offered. First, we should not ignore the possibility that St. Peter did not have a *Dld* scene, either before Julian or after. If the apse of St. Peter's contained figures of Christ, Peter, and Paul, it is possible that Christ was flanked by Peter and Paul but not necessarily in a composition identical to the representations of *Dld* composed in the 370s.¹⁵⁷ In the medieval apse, Christ sits, holding a closed codex, and the flanking apostles each hold an open scroll. This corresponds to a marble fragment dated 330–350 in the Museo Pio Cristiano (*Rep.* II, no. 89); where Christ is sitting and holding an open codex in his right hand, flanked by Peter on his left and Paul on his right, with both saints holding scrolls.¹⁵⁸ Another version of the apse decoration may be reflected in the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (*Rep.* I, no. 680), the city prefect of Rome,

169; and, most recently, Antonella Ballardini, "Die Petersbasilika im Mittelalter," in *Der Petersdom in Rom: Die Baugeschichte von der Antike bis Heute*, ed. Hugo Brandenburg, Antonella Ballardini, and Christof Thoenes (Petersburg: Imhof, 2015), 35–75, on 62.

155. See n. 68 above and the discussion of the casket from Samagher in chapter 3.

156. The medieval composition shares the following details with late antique representations of *Dld*: the positioning of Peter and Paul in relation to Christ; the palm trees in the corners; and the procession of lambs emerging from the labeled architectural elements, Bethlehem and Jerusalem, to meet the Lamb of God, who stands on a hillock from which the four rivers of paradise flow.

157. Support for this view is noted in Arbeiter, "Die Mosaiken." See, for instance, Sotomayor, "Über die Herkunft der 'Traditio legis'"; and, more recently, Jean-Michel Spieser, *Autour de la Traditio Legis* (Thessaloniki: Ypourgeion politismou Eforeia vyzantinon archaiotiton Thessalonikis, 2004).

158. Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Cristiano, inv. no. 31456 (ex Lateranense 123b), Pietro e Paolo, cat. no. 53. For a date in the second half of the fourth century, see Umberto Utro, "Marmorfragment mit lehrenden Christus zwischen Petrus und Paulus," in *Credo*, ed. Christoph Stiegmänn, Martin Kroker, and Wolfgang Walter, 2 vols. (Petersberg: Imhof, 2013), 2:88–9, no.68.

who died in 359 (Fig. 19).¹⁵⁹ Found in the grottoes of St. Peter's, its front is composed of two registers. The central scene in the upper register represents Christ enthroned between the two apostles. The seated Christ holds in his left hand a half-open scroll folded in the center. His feet rest on a stool under which there is a bust representing Coelus, the personification of the sky. Christ does not give the scroll to Peter, but Peter's hand touches it; Paul holds a different scroll. These two extant examples differ from the post-370 versions of *Dld*, in which Christ is standing and clearly presenting an open scroll to Peter, who supports it with his covered hands. Thus, it is possible to discern a change in the representation of the trio: in all examples that postdate 370 (the earliest extant *Dominus legem dat*) or 363 (the collapse of Julian's plan), the scroll is open. Often, as on the gold-glass bottom in Toledo (Ohio) or the mosaic that decorated the baptistery in Naples, the declaration of the Law implicit in the open scroll was emphasized by the inscription, *Dominus legem dat*, written upon it.¹⁶⁰

The second possibility regarding the Old St. Peter apse is that a representative *Dld* scene did indeed decorate the apse, but only after 363. The *Liber Pontificalis* records at least one possible opportunity for such (re)decoration—that is, a renovation under Pope Leo I (440–461): *hic renovavit basilicam beati Petri apostoli et cameram et beati Pauli post ignem divinum renovavit*.¹⁶¹

We may never know which variation of *Dld* or of Christ, Peter, and Paul originally decorated the apse of Old St. Peter's, but the extant representations of *Dominus legem dat* and the ark with the Torah scrolls in Rome leave hardly any doubt that the imagery in the Christian representations of the open scroll given to or supported by Peter is contemporary with, and comparable to, the inclusion of the scroll of the Law within the ark in Jewish art. In both compositions,

159. Much has been written about the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. On the style, see, for instance, Brandenburg, "Stilprobleme der frühchristlichen Sarkophagkunst Roms; Brandenburg, "Ars humilis: Zur Frage eines christlichen Stils in der Kunst des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *JAC* 24 (1981): 71–84. On the iconography, see Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *The Iconography of the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), with bibliography. Cf. Sabine Schrenk, *Typos und Antitypos in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, *JACSup* 21 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995), 44–46; and, recently, Jaś Elsner, "Historical Context and the Objects We Study: Three Boxes from Late Roman Italy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71 (2008): 21–38. For the political context of the burial of Junius Bassus next to the tomb of Saint Peter, see John F. Matthews, "Four Funerals and a Wedding: This World and the Next in Fourth-Century Rome," in *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown*, ed. Philip Rousseau and Emmanuel Papoutsakis, 2 vols. (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 2:129–146; Neil B. McLynn, "Damasus of Rome: A Fourth-Century Pope in Context," in *Rom und Mailand in der Spätantike*, ed. Therese Fuhrer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 305–325, esp. 313–315.

160. As was the scroll held by Christ in S. Costanza, except that it was restored with a different inscription: "Dominus pacem dat." See Arbeiter, "Die Mosaiken," 145, with additional examples of rolls inscribed with *Dld* (fig. 4, pl. 113).

161. See recently Christian Gnillka, "Prudentius und das Apsisepigramm in Alt-St. Peter," *ZPE* 183 (2012): 75–86; and see there the earlier bibliography.

the scroll of the Law is a locally contested visual argument used to express and accentuate contemporary ideological controversy. This discussion demonstrates that, although the scene of *Dld* did play a role in the struggle for the primacy of the Roman church over that of Constantinople; and although it did express the idea of *Concordia apostolorum*, boosting the cults and memories of Peter and Paul in Rome—the innovation of this composition cannot be completely understood without an acknowledgment that the scene played a significant role in a rhetorical debate related to the absence of the Temple in Jerusalem and the presence of its spoils/relics in Rome.

The Impact of Jerusalemite Traditions on Early Christian Roman Art

THIS CHAPTER DISCUSSES VISUAL INITIATIVES IN FOURTH-CENTURY Rome that responded to contemporary narratives emerging from Palestine. The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, I argue that the Roman scene of the Adoration of the Elevated Christogram by Peter and Paul was composed in the wake of the accounts published by Cyril of Jerusalem that highlighted the prominence of Jerusalem as the home of the cross. The new Roman composition was meant to affirm the priority of Constantine's vision at the Milvian Bridge and, at the same time, to align that vision with the memory and role of the Roman martyrs. As we will see, the new composition developed in three visual stages: the appearance of the Elevated Christogram at the center of the so-called Passion sarcophagi; the appearance of the more representative composition, the Adoration of the Elevated Christogram by Peter and Paul; and the combined appearance of the *Adoratio* group with the Crossing of the Red Sea, which decorates a sarcophagus, currently in Split, Croatia, that was produced in Rome during the last quarter of the fourth century. The second part of the chapter will highlight a group of Roman sarcophagi, the so-called Bethesda sarcophagi, that feature biblical scenes connected with specific sites in Jerusalem and the Galilee. The iconographic program on the sarcophagi, however, has conflated narrative details drawn from the separate but similar biblical accounts associated with each of these sites. I will suggest that the decorative program may be best understood as a Roman attempt to subordinate the Galilean Peter of the Gospel narratives to Peter the Martyr, founder of Christian Rome.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE ELEVATED CHRISTOGRAM IN ROMAN ART

The trajectory of transfer from Jerusalem to Rome—first of the Temple spoils and later of the relic of the True Cross—represented Jerusalem in Rome, while constructing the role of Rome as a Christian holy city. From the middle of the fourth century, this trajectory provided a sustainable avenue for the shift to Rome of Jerusalem's holy preeminence, as the foundational Christian holy site, through the integration of Jerusalem's sacred narratives into Roman cultural memory. The two most prominent narratives at this time were the legend

of the Finding of the True Cross and the story of the Apparition of the Cross (staurophany) in the skies over Jerusalem. The first was enacted through local Roman liturgical innovations, and the second, as will be shown here, was a catalyst for the composition of innovative visual formulae, combining the legacy of Constantine in early Christian Rome with expectations of the Second Coming of Christ.

The narrative account of the discovery of the True Cross was probably created by Cyril of Jerusalem in about the first decade of the second half of the fourth century—that is, not long after his report, in a letter to Emperor Constantius II (351), relating to the Apparition of the Cross in the skies over Jerusalem.¹ The earliest evidence for Italian familiarity with the Legend of the Finding of the Cross is its incorporation into the funeral oration for the Emperor Theodosius, written in 395 by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan; a few years later, Paulinus of Nola alluded to the story in a letter to Sulpicius Severus, and Rufinus of Aquileia recounted it in his *Church History*.²

“It is striking,” writes Sible de Blaauw, that the Festival of the *Inventio Crucis* on May 3 originated in Rome, “as the *Inventio Crucis* focuses on the putative historical fact of the recovery of the Cross in Jerusalem.”³ The most likely spur to this Roman liturgical innovation, probably as early as the fifth century, was the construction of *Hierusalem* (S. Croce in Jerusalemme) within the Sessorian palace specifically to house the relic of the True Cross. As noted in chapter 1, the sixth-century *Liber pontificalis* attributes the construction of the church to Constantine.⁴ The visual formulae related to the cross and the place of the Crucifixion that were created in the city during the second half of the fourth century support the attribution of the founding of the church to the first

1. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Epist. ad Const.* 3; *Catech.* 4.10, 10.19, 13.4. See the discussion of this letter below. On the Legend of the Finding of the True Cross, see Stefan Heid, “Der Ursprung der Helenalegende im Pilgerbetrieb Jerusalems,” *JAC* 32 (1989): 41–71; Stephan Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross Was Found: From Event to Medieval Legend* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991), 87–92; Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Jan Willem Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 26; Hans Jan Willem Drijvers and Jan Willem Drijvers, *The Finding of the True Cross: The Judas Kyriakos Legend in Syriac; Introduction, Text and Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 13; Jan Willem Drijvers, “Helena Augusta, the Cross and the Myth: Some New Reflections,” *Millennium* (2011): 23–24; Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 15–53.

2. Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii*, ca. 40–47, in *Sancti Ambrosii opera* VII, ed. Otto Faller, CSEL 73 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1955), 393–396; Stefan Heid, “Die gute Absicht im Schweigen Eusebs über die Kreuzauffindung,” *RQ* 96 (2001): 37–56.

3. Sible de Blaauw, “Jerusalem in Rome and the Cult of the Cross,” in *Pratum Romanum: Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. Renate L. Colella et al. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), 55–73, on 70.

4. See chapter 1, n. 30 above. On Constantius II’s completion of Constantine’s churches, see W. Eugene Kleinbauer, “Antioch, Jerusalem and Rome: The Patronage of Emperor Constantius II and Architectural Invention,” *Gesta* 45 (2006): 125–145.

Christian emperor. In the following analysis of local compositions associated with the cross, I will make two additional points. First, the innovative liturgy on the finding of the cross was but one expression of Roman susceptibility to the event and the site that the True Cross represented, a susceptibility that was also expressed in local visual interpretations. And second, the Roman end of the vector was not dependent on physical relics alone. Rome artistic creativity reacted to postbiblical narratives and traditions that originated in Jerusalem.

The next section begins with a discussion of Roman representations of the triumphal cross by means of a Christogram, moves on to consider compositions of the adoration by Peter and Paul of the elevated Christogram, and concludes with study of a special test case in which the Adoration scene is associated with a representation of the Crossing of the Red Sea. I will argue that these diverse representations functioned as local analogies to contemporary narrative(s) about the cross that were coming from Jerusalem in the second half of the fourth century.

The So-Called Passion Sarcophagi

The composition that seems to imply Roman engagement with Jerusalem even earlier than *Dominus legem dat* (discussed in chapter 1) decorates the so-called Passion sarcophagi, the earliest group of works to include a cross as a central motif within a decorative program. Needless to say, the representation of a cross alone is not sufficient to suggest a Jerusalem influence; the composition and external visual context also serve as indicators.

On stylistic grounds, the two oldest examples of this group, today in the Vatican Museo Pio Cristiano, may be dated to circa 350. One of them, originally from the catacomb of Domitilla, gave the group its name (*Rep.* I, no. 49).⁵ Its front is divided by six columns into five niches (Fig. 20). The central one symbolizes the Resurrection: at the top of a monumental cross is shown a triumphal wreath with a *Chi-Rho* monogram (Christogram); the ribbons of the wreath, together with two doves, rest on the horizontal arms of the cross, and two soldiers are asleep below. Although the combination of the Christogram over the cross and the ribbons suggests a *tropaion* (a victory monument set up on a field of battle, consisting of a tree trunk decked with armor), the soldiers recall those who were supposed to watch over the tomb of Christ (Matt. 27:64–66; *Gospel of Peter* 9:35), thus grouping the motifs into a pictogram which designates

5. Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano, inv. 31525. See Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, *Die Passionssarkophag* (Marburg: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1929); Friedrich Gerke, *Die Zeitbestimmung der Passionssarkophag* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1940), 71–75; Annarosa Saggiorato, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani con scene di passione*, Studi di Antichità Cristiane 1 (Bologna: Pátron, 1968), no. 5.

the Resurrection.⁶ In addition, busts of Sol and Luna, personifications of a sun and a crescent moon representing the cycle of time, are seen on either side of the niche's arch. The combination of a *tropaion* formed of cross and Christogram, with Sol and Luna and sleeping soldiers, creates a timeless image of triumph over death. Apart from the detail of the two sleeping soldiers, no other elements from the gospel narrative are brought into the picture. The rest of the niches, in contrast, portray scenes from the Passion of Christ: on the far left, Simon of Cyrene carries the cross, while the neighboring niche shows Christ with the crown of thorns; to the right of the central niche, Christ is brought before Pilate, who can be seen in the far right niche washing his hands.⁷ The pictogram in the central niche, because it consists mainly of a conflation of symbolic motifs, differs from those narrative scenes in the decorative program, not only by its placement at the center of the Passion sarcophagi, but also in the styling of its content.

A similar Resurrection pictogram, composed of a cross, Christogram, and soldiers, occupies the central niche in one other Passion sarcophagus in the Museo Pio Cristiano (*Rep.* I, no. 61), which was found in the Basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura (St. Paul Outside the Walls; Fig. 21).⁸ Six olive trees divide the front panel into five niches. The far-left niche shows the offerings of Abel and Cain; the far right, the distress of Job and his wife. The scenes immediately flanking the Resurrection panel foreshadow the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul: the left-hand scene shows the arrest of Peter by two soldiers; in the right-hand scene, a soldier points a club at Paul, who stands next to him.⁹ Behind Paul, in a lower relief, there is an upright reed, over which can be seen the stern of a ship. The same

6. Erich Dinkler, "Bemerkungen zum Kreuz als Tropaion," in *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser*, ed. Alfred Hermann and Alfred Stüiber, JACSup 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1964), 71–78; Beat Brenk, "The Imperial Heritage of Early Christian Art," in *The Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art; A Symposium*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 39–52, on 43; Jutta Dresken-Weiland, *Bild, Grab, und Wort: Untersuchungen zu Jenseitsvorstellungen von Christen des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2010), 229–232.

7. Jaś Elsner, "Image and Rhetoric in Early Christian Sarcophagi: Reflections on Jesus' Trial," in *Life, Death and Representation: Some New Work on Roman Sarcophagi*, ed. Jaś Elsner and Janet Huskinson (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 359–386.

8. Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano, inv. 28591. See Saggiorato, *I sarcofagi*, no. 22; and recently, Jaś Elsner, "Rational, Passionate, and Appetitive: The Psychology of Rhetoric and the Transformation of Visual Culture from Non-Christian to Christian Sarcophagi in the Roman World," in *Art and Rhetoric in Roman Culture*, ed. Jaś Elsner and Michel Meyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 316–350, esp. 342–343.

9. For an analysis of these compositions as martyrs' scenes, see Elisa Canetri, "Il rinnegamento di Pietro nell'arte paleocristiana: Nuove considerazioni iconografiche e iconologiche," *RivAC* 82 (2006): 159–200; Dresken-Weiland, *Bild, Grab, und Wort*, 140–141; Matteo Braconi, "La decollatio Pauli su un frammento di sarcofago da S. Sebastiano: La tradizione del martirio paolino tra iconografia e topografia," *RAC* 87/88 (2013): 27–70.

plant appears in the scene of Paul's martyrdom on another Passion sarcophagus found in the catacombs of the Basilica of S. Sebastiano, known in the early Christian period as the Basilica Apostolorum (*Rep.* I, no. 215); here, according to Roman tradition, the house of Peter and Paul once stood.¹⁰ In this example, the scenes are similarly divided by olive trees, but the reed is placed between Paul and the soldier.¹¹ A similar arrangement may be seen on a fragment of yet another contemporary Passion sarcophagus that was found in the same catacombs (*Rep.* I, no. 212).¹² There is just enough left of the front to see that its niches were also separated by olive trees (Fig. 22). Again, the reed is carved in a lower relief between the two figures; this time, however, there is a pillar behind the plant, over which can again be seen the stern of a ship. The inclusion of the reed and ship stern may indicate the Tiber as the place of Paul's martyrdom, a tradition already reported in the second century in the *Passion of Saints Peter and Paul*, as well as in the testimony of the churchman Gaius, as recorded by Eusebius.¹³ The inclusion on the Passion sarcophagi of an intimation of the site of Paul's martyrdom is significant; the reed adds a visual sign of local sacred topography, implying that apart from representing their sacrifice, these scenes from the lives of Peter and Paul represent them as Roman heroes. It is probably not by chance that these specific sarcophagi were found in burial sites associated with the cults of the two saints. We shall see that the decorative program on these sarcophagi carries additional local ingredients.

Thus, the so-called Passion sarcophagi may feature, rather than the scenes of Christ's Passion, the local connected martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, in addition to scenes or personae from the Old Testament associated with sacrifice. Without

10. See the discussion on the Basilica Apostolorum in chapter 3 below.

11. Saggiorato, *I sarcofagi*, no. 21.

12. Saggiorato, *I sarcofagi*, no. 20; Angela Donati, ed., *Pietro e Paolo: La storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli* (Milan: Electa, 2000), cat. no. 48. The same scene, including the ship stern, may be seen in a sarcophagus fragment produced in Rome and today in the Musée de Valence, as well as on the so-called sarcophagus of Sainte Marie-Madeleine in Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume; see *Rep.* III, no. 569 and no. 498 respectively.

13. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.25.7; Hans Georg Thümmel, *Die Memorien für Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Die archäologischen Denkmäler und die literarische Tradition* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 5–8; Donati, *Pietro e Paolo*, cat. no. 54; David L. Eastman, *Paul the Martyr: The Cult of the Apostle in the Latin West* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011); Giorgio Filippi, "La tomba dell'Apostolo Paolo: Nuovi dati dai recenti scavi; Notizie storiche e archeologiche," in *Paulo Apostolo Martyri: L'apostolo San Paolo nella storia, nell'arte, e nell'archeologia*, ed. Ottavio Bucarelli and Martin M. Morales (Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2011), 97–117, esp. 103–104; and see the review of this book by Hugo Brandenburg in *RQ* 107 (2012): 138–139; Braconi, "La decollatio Pauli." For early medieval traditions that identify the site of Paul's martyrdom "*ad Aquas salvas*" in another location, see Nicoletta Bernacchio, "Note di architettura e iconografia sul luogo del martirio di San Paolo," in Bucarelli and Morales, *Paulo Apostolo Martyri*, 73–96; and Eastman, *Paul the Martyr*, 62–69, a discussion of the veneration of Paul and the basilica dedicated to him. (S. Paolo fuori le mura follows in chapter 3 below.)

going into the question of the typologies found in the decorative programs of late antique sarcophagi, it is possible to recognize some kind of systematic layout. In most of the members of this group, the sacrifice and/or martyrdom scenes decorating the front complement as antitypes the group of motifs that form the symbolic portrayal of the Resurrection in the central niche.¹⁴ Together, they make a triumphal statement of hope and salvation for the deceased interred in the sarcophagus and for his or her family.

The juxtaposition of reminders of the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul with the biblical scenes and the representation of the Resurrection “personalized” the theological message for the Christians of Rome. From the first century onward, the Roman community had identified itself with Peter and Paul as local heroes.¹⁵ Thus the fourth-century artistic message of triumph over death was conveyed through association with familiar moral and spiritual exemplars. The local significance of Peter and Paul was emphasized and sharpened by the ahistorical concise design of the Resurrection pictogram at the center of the decorative program. In the Passion sarcophagi, the dramatic historical narration takes place primarily in the scenes with Peter and Paul.

It seems that the group of motifs composing the Resurrection pictogram crystallized independently and was then imported into the program design of the Passion sarcophagi. Indeed, the Resurrection group appears, in one isolated and slightly earlier instance, at the center of the sarcophagus of Julia Latronilla, held today in Jerusalem (*Rep.* II, no. 102).¹⁶ This strigil-type (ripple-pattern) sarcophagus is of Roman provenance and may be dated between 330 and 340 on the basis of stylistic features. The group of motifs denoting the Resurrection includes the busts of Sol and Luna; it is placed under a round shield (*clipeus*) with portraits of a deceased couple (Fig. 23). The corners of the sarcophagus are decorated with four scenes—two on each side, one above the other: on the left,

14. A similar layout arranged in double register is found on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (see chapter 1 above, n. 159 and Fig. 23). On the questions of whether or not this sarcophagus should be classed with the group of Passion sarcophagi, and whether or not its scenes are arranged according to some kind of typology, see Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *The Iconography of the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); but see also Sabine Schrenk, *Typos und Antitypos in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, JACSup 21 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995), 35–44.

15. 1 *Clement*, a letter sent from the church in Rome to the church in Corinth at the end of the first century, describes the execution of the two apostles and refers to them as moral exemplars (ch. 5). Tertullian, writing a century later, refers to the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul in *Against Heretics* 32. A descriptive narrative of Paul’s martyrdom is found in the *Acts of Paul*, written in Rome sometime during the second century. See Candida R. Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom: Diverse Practices, Theologies, and Traditions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 96–98.

16. Bible Lands Museum, inv. BLMJ 1057; Brenk, “Imperial Heritage,” 43, fig. 8; Beat Brenk, *Ladders to Heaven: Art Treasures from the Lands of the Bible* (exhibition catalogue; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981), no. 277; Erich Dinkler and Erica Dinkler-von Schubert, s.v. “Kreuz I,” *RBK* 5 (1995): 1–219, at 60.

Christ between Adam and Eve, poised above the scene of the Miracle of the Wine at Cana; on the right, the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, positioned above Christ resurrecting the dead. The side scenes prepare the observer for the most significant miracle, which is located at the center: the triumph over death expressed by the Resurrection pictogram. Here we have an earlier stage in the development of the design, where the decorative plan includes the Resurrection group without either the passion of Christ or the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul. Moreover, the Resurrection scene does not take up the entire center of the composition but is located directly *beneath* the portraits of the deceased, expressing the hope for their salvation.

Latronilla's sarcophagus was produced in Rome during Constantine's lifetime or shortly after his death. The incorporation of the *tropaion*-like Christogram within a wreath was probably intended to recall the labarum of Constantine—that is, the banner crafted by the emperor to incorporate the celestial sign that he saw after he had prayed for divine aid, before his battle with Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge:

About the time of the midday sun, when day was just turning, he said he saw with his own eyes, up in the sky and resting over the sun, a cross-shaped trophy formed from light, and a text attached to it which said, "By this conquer."¹⁷

17. "HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS," *Vit. Const.* 1.28.2; English translation from Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 81. A different account of this event was written about two decades earlier by the rhetorician Lactantius, *Mort. Pers.* 44.5. The bibliography on Constantine's vision is extensive. Recent publications, which incorporate an older bibliography, include Jan Willem Drijvers, "The Power of the Cross: Celestial Cross Appearances in the Fourth Century," in *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, ed. Andrew Cain and Noel Lenski (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009), 237–248; and the review article by Richard Flower, "Visions of Constantine," *JRS* 102 (2012): 287–305. The bibliography on the identification of the *Chi-Rho* monogram as the sign seen by Constantine is also vast. I cite here, in addition to recent work, older studies that have not been rendered obsolete. See Andreas Alföldi, "The Helmet of Constantine with the Christian Monogram," *JRS* 22 (1932): 9–23; Alföldi, "*Hoc signo victor eris*," in *Pisciculi: Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums: Franz Joseph Dölger zum sechzigsten Geburtstage dargeboten von Freunden, Verehrern und Schülern*, ed. Theodor Klauser and Adolf Rucker, *JACSup* 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1939), 1–18; Gerke, *Passionssarkophage*, 74–75; Erich Dinkler, "Das Kreuz als Siegeszeichen," *ZTK* 62 (1965): 3–20; Dinkler and Dinkler von Schubert "Kreuz I," 39. More recently, see Henk Singor, "The Labarum, Shield Blazons, and Constantine's *Caeleste Signum*," in *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*, ed. Lukas de Blois et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 481–500, esp. 486–488; Klaus Martin Girardet, "Konstantin: Wegbereiter des Christentums als Weltreligion," in *Konstantin der Grosse: Exhibition Catalogue Trier*, ed. Alexander Demandt and Josef Engemann (Mainz: von Zabern, 2007), 232–242; Girardet, *Der Kaiser und sein Gott: Das Christentum in Denken und in der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Grossen* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 52–75; Timothy Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion, and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 74–79.

The *labarum* “was constructed to the following design. A tall pole plated with gold had a transverse bar forming the shape of a cross. Up at the extreme top, a wreath woven of precious stones and gold had been fastened. On it two letters, intimating by its first characters the name ‘Christ,’ formed the monogram of the Savior’s title, *rho* being intersected in the middle by *chi*.”¹⁸ The Milvian Bridge over the Tiber outside the northern wall of Rome, as the Labarum of Constantine, mark Constantine’s triumphant entry into the city, as well as the first steps toward a Christianized Roman Empire.

One could imagine a Roman impulse to emphasize the local Christian memory related to Constantine’s triumph. Moreover, the combination of the Christogram with a cross, rather than a cross alone, associates the triumph of Constantine with that of Christ. In a subtle way, the emblem on Latronilla’s sarcophagus may also be said to evoke a different celestial sign that would certainly be appropriate to a funerary decorative program: the cross that was to appear in the sky to foretell the Second Coming of Christ, the *Praecursor Domini*.¹⁹ The sun and moon that flank the Resurrection scene guarantee that this future redemption will indeed occur.

Because the Resurrection at the center of the Passion sarcophagi is not completely figurative, it enables a multilevel reading.²⁰ The innovative pictogram of the cross and the sleeping soldiers has indeed been associated with Constantine from another perspective as well. It has been interpreted as a reference to the Constantinian complex of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which encompassed both Golgotha (signaled by the cross) and the tomb of Christ (denoted by the sleeping soldiers).²¹ This seems plausible if we consider that the Jerusalem edifice was dedicated in 337, shortly before or around the time the Passion sarcophagi were designed; thus, by the middle of the fourth century, pilgrims were already returning with information about the Constantinian architecture in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem connection makes even more sense when we consider that the earliest appearance of the pictogram within the Passion sarcophagi group is on *Rep. I*, no. 49, which contains *only* scenes from the biblical, Jerusalem-based Passion narrative. Incorporated into the Passion sarcophagi, however, the

18. *Vit. Const.* 1.31, English translation from Cameron and Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine*, 81.

19. The sign of the Son of Man (Matt. 24:30; Rev. 7:2) had already been interpreted as the cross in the first half of the second century; see *Didache* 16.6, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, chap. 1, and n. 50 below.

20. For a classical study of the multilayered possibilities of meaning in a group of motifs that include the cross, see Erich Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1964); see also Josef Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung frühchristliche Bildwerke* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997).

21. Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium*, RQSup 42 (Rome: Herder, 1987), 70–71.

Resurrection pictogram flanked by the martyrdom of Peter and Paul carries an additional level of meaning, related to the local religious and ideological framework.

A pictograph or a pictogram, resembling or recalling a place, a site or even an event, is effective only if and when it is communicative—that is, identified and deciphered by observers and users. It seems to me that within the group of Passion sarcophagi I have discussed here, the combination of the cross with the Christogram, at least in the eyes of the local clients, was likely to recall two crosses related to the foundational yet recent past of Christian Rome: Constantine's vision of the *caeleste signum dei*, and the relic of the historical cross that was housed in the Sessorian Palace at the time.²² I do not mean to imply that the pictogram was *not* a reference to events that had once taken place in Jerusalem; but as a symbolic representation rather than a depiction of the biblical narrative, it precludes the insertion of historical and geographical details of the Resurrection into the frame. The iconic representation of the Resurrection at the center of the composition thus highlights, by contrast, the local “history” suggested by other components of the decorative program: the allusion to the site of Paul's martyrdom and the scenes related to the suffering of Peter and Paul. I am suggesting that the special design was selected precisely in order to locate the viewer in relation to the locally informed narratives of martyrdom, Resurrection, and the believer's ultimate redemption.

A support for this “local” reading of the pictogram may be found in sarcophagi that were produced in Rome in the second half of the fourth century and are often classified as a later generation of the Passion sarcophagi. One type carries the biblical scenes seen on the Passion sarcophagi but lacks the Resurrection pictogram. An example is to be found in the Grotto of St. Peter in the Vatican, where a sarcophagus dated circa 380 features the *Dld* (*Dominus legem dat*) between the scene of the sacrifice of Abraham and that of Christ before Pilate (*Rep. I*, no. 677).²³ The layout suggests that the Resurrection pictogram has been replaced by the *Dld* scene, in which Christ presents the Law to Peter and Paul. A variation on this may be seen on a sarcophagus fragment originally from the Lateran and today in Museo Pio Cristiano (*Rep. I*, no. 57). Between scenes of the arrest of Peter and Christ before Pilate (fragmentary), the center is taken by the depiction of Christ, flanked by Peter and Paul (Fig. 24). Christ, standing on a

22. See the discussion in chapter 1.

23. Gerke, *Passionssarkophage*, pls. 3–5. See also, for instance, *Rep. I*, nos. 58; 676; *Rep. III*, nos. 53; 291. This tendency can be traced already in the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (359 CE), where Christ, holding a folded scroll, is enthroned between Peter and Paul, as part of a decorative program that relates to the Passion sarcophagi. See above, Fig. 19.

hill, holds in his right hand a cross-shaped staff decorated with gems. These are but two examples from a variety of Roman compositions in which Christ is seen flanked by Peter and Paul at the center of a Passion sarcophagus façade. These two examples illustrate the extent to which the design of the Passion sarcophagi was seen by the Romans as a medium for the expression of local religious ideology. This recognition, in turn, increases the possibility that the decorative program of the earlier Passion sarcophagi was also intended to emphasize the sacred quality of Rome, in combination with Constantine's vision at the Milvian Bridge and the historical event of the Resurrection.

To further highlight the Roman significance of the pictogram, it is useful to note, in addition, that this alternation between the Resurrection pictogram and the image of Christ presenting the Law to Peter and Paul was not exclusive to the Passion sarcophagi. During the last quarter of the fourth and the early fifth centuries, sarcophagi decorated with figures of the twelve apostles (the "Apostle Sarcophagi") might use *either* the Resurrection pictogram *or* the scene of *Dld* as their central image.²⁴ In both cases, these sarcophagi could make an impact on the visual and cultural memory of the Christian community in Rome, either by recalling that Rome embraces the relics of and sites related to Peter, Paul, and the True Cross or by providing a visual reminder of Constantine's vision and victory.

Other sarcophagi that may support the local relevance of the Resurrection pictogram are those that use the pictogram as an independent image. For instance, this was the first (and only?) motif sculpted in the decorative program of an unfinished sarcophagus found in the cemetery of Commodilla (*Rep.* I, no. 653).²⁵ Here, the pictogram is located between two empty, double-framed squares, perhaps meant to be filled with strigilation. An early fifth-century fragment of one of the last sarcophagi produced in Rome, found in SS. Quattro Coronati, provides a radical example of what became of the popular image (*Rep.* I, no. 758). It is composed simply of a cross topped by the Christogram. This image must have been significant enough; the rest of the sarcophagus fragment is decorated with strigilation.

The broad distribution of a design comprising a combination of motifs that expresses an idea in either a concentrated or more elaborated form, and also participates in various decorative programs, indicates its popular significance. Such ample distribution usually characterizes icons of past local content integrated with ongoing historical relevance and continuity. One such composition,

24. See *Rep.* I, nos. 59, 65, 175, 208; *Rep.* III, nos. 49, 282.

25. Gerke, *Passionssarkophage*, 109, fig. 24.

also evoking the vision of Constantine at the Milvian Bridge, consists of a cross/column topped by a Christogram and grouped with Peter and Paul. This composition, however, which first appears in the last third of the fourth century, corresponds to a more or less contemporary vision that appeared in Jerusalem.

The Adoration of the Elevated Christogram by Peter and Paul

Variations on an image of Peter and Paul adoring a cross or column topped by a *Chi-Rho* monogram—that is, a Christogram—appeared in a wide range of media, especially in the last third of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries. The two apostles, identified by inscriptions and by their characteristic physiognomies, may be seen on a gold-glass bottom in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 25).²⁶ Peter, on the left, has thick, short hair and a short beard, and Paul on the right, has a longer, pointed beard and a bald forehead. A column decorated with inset gems, topped by a wreath bearing a Christogram, stands between them.²⁷ The apostles' posture is frontal; only the heads and pupils turn slightly toward the Christogram. The same two apostles, again easily recognizable, are cast as part of a bronze handle in the Museo Sacro (Fig. 26).²⁸ Here Peter stands to the right and Paul to the left of a column topped by a sun-like disk with two ribbons hanging down, as in a Roman triumphal banner. The apostles' bodies are turned toward the center, their eyes toward the disk; this is inscribed with a Christogram, in which the letters *alpha* and *omega* are added between the arms of the *Chi*. Paul is holding a scroll, while Peter's right hand is upraised in acclamation. In yet another context, Peter and Paul flank a *tropaion*-like cross with ribbons of the kind represented in the center panel of the Passion sarcophagi discussed earlier; this image appears on a strigil-type sarcophagus found in situ in one of the mausolea located on the north side of the Basilica of S. Sebastiano (*Rep.* I, no. 224). Peter, on the right, and Paul, on the left, each have one hand upraised toward the cross, in acclamation (Fig. 27). Here, unlike the other examples cited, the cross with the elevated Christogram

26. Inv. no. 16.174.3; see Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 508; and Lucy Grig, "Portraits, Pontiffs and the Christianisation of Fourth-Century Rome," *PBSR* 72 (2004): 203–230, fig. 8.

27. On the significance of columns in late antiquity, see Josef Engemann, "Die religiöse Herrscherfunktion im Fünfsäulenmonument Diocletians in Rom und in den Herrschermosaiken Justinians in Ravenna," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 18 (1984): 336–356; Stefan Heid, *Kreuz-Jerusalem-Kosmos: Aspekte frühchristlicher Stauologie*, JACSup 31 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2001), 99. Dale Kinney, "Bearers of Meaning," *JAC* 50 (2007): 139–153, elaborates on the significance of columns in the Middle Ages and includes an extensive bibliography.

28. Inv. no. 60809; Donati, *Pietro e Paolo*, cat. no. 59; Sible de Blaauw and Eric Moormann, *Rome: de droom van keizer Constantijn; Kunstschatten uit de Eeuwige Stad* (exhibition catalogue; Amsterdam: De Nieuwe Kerk, 2015), cat. no. 61.

stands on a hill, representing Golgotha. Two palm trees are carved in lower relief at the back of the scene.

Before locating the *Adoratio* scene on the Jerusalem–Rome axis, it will be useful to clarify two points. First, Peter and Paul were not the only local martyrs represented in Rome, but they were the most popular. From the second half of the fourth century onward, portraits of other local martyrs begin to appear as well. A group of local martyrs, for example, figure in the Catacombs of Marcellinus and Peter: here, Christ enthroned is flanked by Peter and Paul and beneath them the Lamb of God stands on a hill between Peter, Marcellinus, Tiburtius, and Gorgonius (Fig. 28).²⁹ The likenesses of the martyrs Nereus and Achilleus were sculpted on columns which probably belonged to a ciborium in the catacomb that contained their relics on the Via Ardeatina; only the column with the image of Achilleus's martyrdom is left.³⁰ It is not by chance that most of these representations date to the second half of the fourth century. They may be associated with the renovation and expansion of the catacombs that took place during the episcopate of Pope Damasus (366–384).³¹

My second point is that, simultaneously with the visual representations of other local martyrs, those of Peter and Paul underwent a change in character. This change was contemporary with—and includes—the emergence of the local composition of *Dominus legem dat*, discussed in chapter 1, and is exemplified also by the design comprising the Adoration of the Elevated Christogram.

The shift in the representations of Peter and Paul needs some explanation in order to account for the momentum in the reproduction of the *Adoratio* scene. Probably because the tombs of the two apostles had been known and visited for centuries, unlike those of other local martyrs, the popularity of Peter and Paul had been visually expressed throughout the fourth century in multiple scenes and reproductions. Already in the so-called Constantinian sarcophagi,

29. Johannes G. Deckers, Hans R. Seeliger, and Gabriele Mietke, *Die Katakombe "Santi Marcellino e Pietro": Repertorium der Malereien* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana; Münster: Aschendorff, 1987), 199–201, pl. 2. Another example can be found in the Catacombs of Commodilla, where Felix and Adauctus are represented with Peter and Paul in the same cubiculum. Jás Elsner, "Inventing Christian Rome: The Role of Early Christian Art," in *Rome the Cosmopolis*, ed. Catharina Edwards and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 71–99, esp. 89–97; Lucy Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London: Duckworth, 2004), pls. 7, 8.

30. Umberto M. Fasola, *Die Domitille-Katakombe und die Basilika der Märtyrer Nereus und Achilleus*, trans. K. Köber (Vatican City: Pontifical Commission of Sacred Archaeology, 1975), 19–21; Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity*, 111–135, pl. 3.

31. Damasus made efforts to identify the martyrs' tombs and mark them with epitaphs. See chapter 3 below. The representations of the martyrs also coincide with the earliest visual and textual sources we have describing or relating to the translation of relics and production of reliquaries. See Galit Noga-Banai, *The Trophies of the Martyrs: An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Reliquaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Peter is represented in various situations.³² Some configurations are very rare; for example, the lid of a sarcophagus from the first quarter of the fourth century, found in the Catacombs of S. Callistus (*Rep.* I, no. 365), features Peter, his head broken, being saved by Christ from drowning (Matt. 14:29–31); another early image shows him seated like a philosopher under a tree.³³ Some scenes occur more often, such as the scene with the rooster implying Peter's denial of Christ (Matt. 26:69–75; Mark 14:66–72; Luke 22:55–62; John 18:17, 25–27)³⁴ or Peter's Striking of the Rock, which alludes to his Water Miracle, seen, for instance, on the so-called Three Monograms Sarcophagus found in the necropolis of the Basilica of St. Peter (*Rep.* I, no. 674).³⁵ Peter's Arrest is also often described; for example, it is placed next to the Striking of the Rock on another strigil sarcophagus from S. Sebastiano (*Rep.* I, no. 241).³⁶ As we have seen earlier in relation to the Passion sarcophagi, Paul joined the repertoire of decorative programs on sarcophagi with a scene representing his own martyrdom.³⁷

In the second half of the century, however, Peter and Paul are paired, participating in the same (or sometimes parallel) compositions, rather than in neighboring but separate ones. They are usually posed facing one another, conversing, or being crowned together. Often, when flanking Christ, they construct a more formal, representative layout, as in the *Dld* composition I discussed in chapter 1. This is the layout carried over into the images discussed here, where the two apostles flank a cross or column topped by a *Chi-Rho* monogram. As

32. These sarcophagi form one of the earliest groups of Christian sarcophagi, produced in Rome during the first quarter of the fourth century. They are characterized by a decorative program composed in one or two registers and executed in a style similar to that of the fourth-century reliefs on the Arch of Constantine. See Hugo Brandenburg, "Stilprobleme der frühchristlichen Sarkophagkunst Roms im 4. Jahrhundert: Volkskunst, Klassizismus, Spätantiker Stil," *RM* 86 (1979): 439–471; Brandenburg, "Ars Humilis: zur Frage eines christlichen Stils in der Kunst des 4. Jahrhunderts nach Christus," *JAC* 24 (1981): 71–84; Guntram Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophag* (Munich: Beck, 2000), 249–281.

33. Recently on the depictions of Peter on sarcophagi, see Dresken-Weiland, *Bild, Grab, und Wort*, 119–162; Dresken-Weiland, "Petrusdarstellungen und ihre Bedeutung in der frühchristlichen Kunst," in *Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Eine interdisziplinäre Debatte*, ed. Stefan Heid (Freiburg: Herder, 2011), 126–152, with extensive bibliography.

34. For the multilevel meaning of the scene in which Peter is accompanied by a rooster, see Dresken-Weiland, *Bild, Grab, und Wort*, 146–161.

35. The earliest extant literary source for this miracle is the sixth-century Latin version of the *Acts of Peter* (1.1–22), which relates that Peter baptized his jailers while in prison by striking a rock to obtain the water. This account postdates the earliest representations of the scene. See the discussion in Robin M. Jensen, *Living Water: Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism*, VCSup 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 77–78. And see the discussion below on the general tendency in artistic representations of the fourth century to identify Peter with Moses as representative of the New Covenant.

36. Martine Dulaey, "La scène dite de l'arrestation de Pierre," *RAC* 84 (2008): 299–346.

37. Stella Patitucci Uggeri, *San Paolo nell'arte paleocristiana* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2010); Braconi, "La decollatio Pauli."

with *Dld*, this composition is usually considered to stem from the contemporary concept of *concordia apostolorum*—that is, the notion of a harmonious connection between the apostles, which was supposed to have taken shape in Rome. This concept is understood to have emerged in reaction to the struggle, in the second half of the fourth century, between Rome and Constantinople for the primacy of the unified church.³⁸ The idea of a joint apostolic foundation for the Church of Rome was reflected in this new artistic configuration of Peter and Paul. Nevertheless, in view of the preceding discussion of the Resurrection pictogram and the essential role therein of the cross and the elevated Christogram, I will argue that here, too, in regard to the *Adoratio* scene, contemporary events in Jerusalem, and traditions arising from them, effectively produced a visual Roman reaction.

The elevated Christogram, because it alludes to Constantine's labarum, refers the observer to a celestial sign, regardless of whether it is positioned on top of a column or on top of a cross. This is reflected in the bronze handle described above, where the Christogram is accompanied by *Alpha* and *Omega*; it is also clear in the coins of Magnentius, dated 351, which feature the earliest imperial representation of a Christogram with *Alpha* and *Omega*.³⁹ The conflation of the apocalyptic letters with Christ's monogram in imperial contexts makes clear reference both to the vision of Constantine and to the Second Coming of Christ. The acclamation of the elevated Christogram by Peter and Paul recalls the approaching salvation signaled by this precursor cross, and also suggests the apostles' role as local intercessors at the end of days.

Things may appear yet more complicated when the cross topped by a Christogram is placed on Golgotha, as in the strigil sarcophagus in S. Sebastian (Fig. 27). Contrary to the composition of the Resurrection pictogram of the Passion sarcophagi, where, as I argued, actual details of Jerusalem are kept outside the frame, here a specific Jerusalem site is visually indicated. This combination may also imply a reference to the memorial cross that by the time of Constantine had most likely already been set up on Golgotha.⁴⁰ Perhaps adding Golgotha to the design was functionally akin to picturing the Christogram atop a column; both would constitute a reference to one of the physical sites in

38. But see Grig, "Portraits, Pontiffs and the Christianisation of Fourth-Century Rome," 218: "the distinctiveness of the *concordia* of Peter and Paul may have been seriously overstated." On *Dld* and the *concordia apostolorum*, see chapter 1 above, with relevant bibliography in n. 65.

39. Dinkler and Dinkler von Schubert, s.v. "Kreuz I," 28.

40. Heid, *Kreuz-Jerusalem-Kosmos*, 230–232. Cf. Dinkler and Dinkler von Schubert, s.v. "Kreuz I," 17; they insist, on the contrary, that according to textual evidence, the first monumental cross was erected on Golgotha by Emperor Theodosius II.

Jerusalem that marked the navel of the world: the column at St. Stephen's Gate (Damascus Gate); and the cross on Golgotha.⁴¹

The placement of Peter and Paul on the two sides of the same cross/column may function to translate Jerusalem into the orbit of Rome. Another alternative might be that the grouping of Peter and Paul with the elevated Christogram denotes a specific site related to both of them. The first possibility that might come to mind would be the Basilica Apostolorum (S. Sebastian), where both apostles were venerated.⁴² The question I wish to pose is not about the possible site but about the *timing*. Why would the scene of the Adoration of the Elevated Christogram by Peter and Paul, with its consequent emphasis on their role as intercessors, become so popular in Rome in the second half of the fourth century? Although the contemporary cult of relics and the activity around the cult of the local martyrs no doubt played a role, I will suggest an additional factor—that is, a visual polemic against an emerging Jerusalemite tradition that ultimately leads us back to Constantine's vision and the Roman relic of the True Cross.

As noted in the beginning of this chapter, during the season between Easter and Pentecost of 351, a celestial sign comparable to the one seen by Constantine in 312 was beaming in the Jerusalem skies. It was seen by everyone who was in the city at the time. Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem, shortly after the event, reported on it in a letter to Emperor Constantius II (337–361):

In the time of your blessed father Constantine of happy memory and most favored by God, the saving wood of the Cross was found in Jerusalem, when God's grace rewarded the piety of his noble search with the discovery of the hidden holy places. But you, most pious Lord Emperor, have surpassed your father's piety with an even greater reverence for the divine, and in your time miracles have now appeared no longer from the ground but in the heavens: the trophy of the victory which our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Only-begotten Son of God, won over death—I refer to the blessed Cross—has been seen flashing like lightning over Jerusalem.

In these holy days of the Easter season, on 7 May at about the third hour, a huge cross made of light appeared in the sky above holy Golgotha, extending as far as the holy Mount of Olives. It was not

41. See Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem*, 91–93, 98–99; and Heid, *Kreuz-Jerusalem-Kosmos*, 100–105, 193–194, 212–213.

42. Thümmel, *Die Memorien für Petrus und Paulus in Rom*, 73–95; Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms*, 63; Steffen Diefenbach, *Römische Erinnerungsräume* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 38–80. See also chapter 3 below.

revealed to one or two people alone, but it appeared unmistakably to everyone in the city.⁴³

The letter to Constantius, as Cyril himself attests in the opening paragraph, was his “first offering” to the emperor. As such, it had to impress the emperor and at the same time to introduce the bishop and his ideology. In addition, as a formal letter, its might also have been intended to be read out loud to Cyril’s local audience.⁴⁴ In other words, this letter carried a multipurpose message. Perhaps Cyril’s aim was to gain the emperor’s favor. Perhaps Cyril wanted to emphasize the sacredness of Jerusalem and enhance the position of its bishop against the metropolitan cathedra of Caesarea.⁴⁵ One thing is certain, Cyril describes a new Christian heavenly event that had taken place above earthly Jerusalem and was visible to all its citizens.⁴⁶ He reiterates the significance for the future of the fact that the apparition had appeared at that time and place:

Accordingly, we citizens of Jerusalem, who saw this extraordinary wonder with our own eyes, have paid due worship and thanksgiving to God the universal King and to God’s Only-begotten Son and shall continue to do so, and we have prayed at length in the holy places for your blessed reign and shall likewise continue to do so. . . . This miracle [the Apparition of the Cross] has been accomplished now and will be accomplished again more fully. For in St. Matthew’s Gospel the Savior granted his blessed apostles knowledge of future events and through them foretold to their

43. Cyril of Jerusalem, *ad. Const.* 3–4. All translated quotations of Cyril’s letter are from Edward Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem* (London: Routledge, 2000), 68–70. See also Ernest Bihain, “L’Épître de Cyrille de Jérusalem à Constance sur la vision de la croix,” *Byzantium* 43 (1973): 264–291. For the date of the event, see Heinrich Chantaine, “Die Kreuzesvision von 351: Fakten und Probleme,” *BZ* 86/87 (1993/4): 430–441.

44. On the potential function of Cyril’s letter as an address to the local Christians in Jerusalem, see Oded Irshai, “Cyril of Jerusalem: The Apparition of the Cross and the Jews,” in *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 85–104.

45. For the various causes of tension between the two cathedras during the fourth century, see Peter W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990); Zeev Rubin, “The Cult of the Holy Places and Christian Politics in Byzantine Jerusalem,” in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York: Continuum, 1999), 151–162; Oded Irshai, “Fourth-Century Christian Palestinian Politics: A Glimpse at Eusebius of Caesarea’s Local Political Career and Its *Nachleben* in Christian Memory,” in *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical, and Theological Issues*, ed. Sabrina Inowlocki and Claudio Zamagni (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 25–38.

46. Jan Willem Drijvers, “Promoting Jerusalem: Cyril and the True Cross,” in *Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium, and the Christian Orient*, ed. Jan Willem Drijvers and John W. Watt (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 79–95, esp. 86–87; and Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 153–176, esp. 162–164; Irshai, “Cyril of Jerusalem.”

successors in the clearest of statements: “And then the sign of the Son of Man will appear in the sky (Matt. 24:30).”⁴⁷

Cyril evidently expected Constantius II to validate the earlier imperial recognition and acknowledgment of Jerusalem with its holy sites, where the Gospel events had occurred and where Christ’s epiphany was to take place. He does not fail to associate the cross he has seen with the cross found by the emperor’s father. Apparently, Cyril was not content with the letter alone. He initiated a holiday dedicated to the event, creating a repeated act of memory in the Jerusalemite liturgical calendar and ensuring that hope for the Second Coming would continue to be associated with (the church in) Jerusalem.⁴⁸

The letter to Constantius seems to complete a line of thought and ideology that Cyril had initiated a year earlier in two of his sermons to the catechumens, delivered at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In 350, while preaching about the sign that was to announce the return of Christ, and also referring to the prophecy of Zechariah (14:4), the bishop asks:

Give us a sign that will show where the King will stand when he enters; give us a sign not far from the city so that it will be familiar to us. Give us a sign that is nearby and plain to see, so that we can examine the place while we are in the city. The prophet replies again: “and on that day his feet will stand on the Mount of Olives opposite Jerusalem to the East” (Zech. 14:4). Isn’t it true that anyone could examine the place while standing inside the city?⁴⁹

This rhetorical question is matched by another one in a second sermon, on Daniel’s vision, preached during Lent, when the catechumens were preparing

47. Cyril of Jerusalem, *ad. Const.* 5, 6. The scene described by Cyril has predecessors, arising from the idea that the Second Coming of Christ was to take place in Jerusalem (see Rev. 21–22). Tertullian (ca. 160–ca. 240) describes the future expectation that the New Jerusalem will hover in the skies over Judea for forty days. See Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 3.24.4, ed. and trans. Ernest Evans, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 1:246–249.

48. The seventh of May became a fixed date in the local ecclesiastical calendar, as attested in an Armenian lectionary dated 417–439. Cyril’s letter to Constantius was read as part of the liturgical celebration. See Athanase Renoux, *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem* 121, PO 36.2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), 333; cf. Gérard Garitte, *Le calendrier palestinogéorgien du Sinaiticus* 34 (*Xe siècle*), *Subsidia Hagiographica* 30 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1958), 218; Georg Kretschmar, “Festkalender und Memorialstätten Jerusalems in altkirchlicher Zeit,” *ZDPV* 87 (1971): 190–191 n. 86; John Wilkinson, *Egeria’s Travels to the Holy Land: Newly Translated with Supporting Documents and Notes* (Jerusalem and Warminster: Ariel and Aris & Phillips, 1981), 272; Irshai, “Cyril of Jerusalem,” 88–89, 104. On creating a community through shared and repeated memory—that is, cults and holidays—see Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich: Beck, 1999), 139.

49. Cyril, *Catech.* 12.11, translated in Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 144.

for baptism. Here, describing the Second Advent in detail, Cyril explains how they are to recognize the heavenly sign:

But what is the sign of His coming—to prevent a hostile power from daring to imitate it? “And then will appear,” He says, “the sign of the Son of Man in heaven” (Matt. 24:30). The true sign, Christ’s own, is the cross. A sign of a luminous cross precedes the King, showing Him who was formerly crucified. (*Catech.* 15.22)⁵⁰

From the letter to Constantius, we know that the sign appeared shortly after these sermons were delivered. The staurophany must have seemed, to those who had heard these sermons, to be a fulfillment of Cyril’s words. The sermons indicate to Cyril’s listeners the path of connectedness with the biblical past and provide them a bridge toward future redemption by way of the cross and the holy sites related to it in Jerusalem. The apparition of 351 illuminated the skies of the city and stretched between the Holy Sepulchre and the Mount of Olives, thus over the Temple Mount.⁵¹ And everyone could see it. The line marked in the skies above the two sites on earth corresponded to the liturgical path between the holy sites, traced by the steps of the people.

It is known that these two most prominent holy sites in the city were connected in the Jerusalemite liturgy during Holy week and the Easter Season; this linkage is well documented in the remarkable testimony of a contemporary eyewitness, the pilgrim Egeria.⁵² She describes how the procession, led by the bishop from the Holy Sepulchre, would gather in the cave at the Church of the

50. PG 33.899; The sermon begins with a quotation from Daniel 7:9, 13. For an English translation of *Catech.* 15, see *The Works of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem*, trans. by Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson, 2 vols., FOTC 61, 64 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1969–1970), 2:53–75; paragraph 22 is on pp. 67–68. See also Irshai, “Cyril of Jerusalem,” 100; Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, 83. Cf. Cyril, *Catech.* 13.41; Cyril, *Gospel of Peter* 10. According to Sozomen, the second-century *Apocalypse of Peter* 1, where the sign of the Son of Man was interpreted as the cross, was read aloud in Palestine on Good Friday as late as the fifth century. For all references, see Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik*, 78–87; and Dinkler and Dinkler von Schubert, “Kreuz I,” 5–10. For the cross as the sign of Crucifixion and Resurrection in Cyril’s sermons, see the section, “The Place of the Cross in C[*Catecheses* 1–18] and M [*Mystagogic Catecheses*],” in Alexis J. Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 176–185. For the vision of the heavenly cross as signifying Jerusalem and its holy places, see Drijvers, “Promoting Jerusalem.”

51. Heid, *Kreuz–Jerusalem–Kosmos*, 135–137; Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 22.

52. Egeria most probably visited Jerusalem in 384. For the processions between the two sites, see the description of the Jerusalemite liturgy in *Itinerarium Egeriae*, ed. Aetius Franceschini and Robert Weber, CCSL 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), 67–90; Wilkinson, *Egeria’s Travels*, 123–147; Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 75–85.

Eleona on the Mount of Olives, where Christ had pronounced his eschatological sermon (Matt. 24–25) to the disciples.⁵³

Returning to the imagery of the *Adoratio* scene, I want to raise the possibility that the popularity of this image in Rome might itself have arisen from the perception that Cyril's account was meant to contest the earlier Roman tradition of the apparition of the luminous cross to Constantine. There is no specific Roman textual source to indicate the extent to which the apparition in Jerusalem might have been known in Rome during the last quarter of the fourth century. This does not prove, however, that it was unknown. The Jerusalem tradition could have reached Rome through the dissemination of Cyril's letter, maybe even through Constantius II himself, when he visited Rome in 357. Like his father's arrival about forty years before, Constantius's arrival in Rome (for the first time), and the consequent comparisons between father and son, must have been the talk of the day.⁵⁴

Knowledge of Cyril's vision and of the new Jerusalemite holy day might have been spread by pilgrims returning from Jerusalem. Roman Christians might also have heard through the same route about more than one apparition, because the Jerusalemite apparition, as it turned out, engendered a sequel. A second staurophany occurred in the skies of Jerusalem in 363. This was reported by Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 390) in his polemic against Julian, written in 364, not long after the failure of Julian's attempt to rebuild the Jewish Temple.⁵⁵ It is possible that one or both of these apparitions were connected in the public

53. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 132, 139. For the possible influence of the liturgical blending of these two sites on portable Palestinian art from the sixth century on, see Galit Noga-Banai, "Das Kreuz auf dem Ölberg: Mögliche frühe Bildbezeugungen," *RQ* 102 (2007): 141–154; Noga-Banai, "The Brass Cross in Munich and *Loca Sancta Eulogia*: Innovative Representation of Local Tradition," *Arte Medievale* n.s. 6, no. 1 (2007): 9–23.

54. On Constantius II's visit to Rome, see Ammianus Marcellinus 16.10; Lucy Grig, "Imagining the Capitolium in Late Antiquity," in Cain and Lenski, *Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, 279–291. One of the main reasons for the visit was the celebration of Constantius's victory over Magnentius in 353; parallels were drawn between this victory and that of Constantine over Maxentius. See, most recently, Mark Humphries, "Emperors, Usurpers, and the City of Rome: Performing Power from Diocletian to Theodosius," in *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*, ed. Johannes Wienand (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 151–168, esp. 158–160.

55. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Contra Julian* 5.4 (*Contre Julien*, ed. Jean Bernardi, SC 309, Paris: Cerf, 1983, 20–33, 300–302); To Gregory, this apparition symbolized victory over the Jews and their ruined Temple. See Heid, *Kreuz–Jerusalem–Kosmos*, 134; Drijvers, "Power of the Cross," 12–16. The story of the apparition in 363 is told again in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor (d. 818). See Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, Byzantine and Near Eastern History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 82, *Chronicle AM* 5855. The apparition of a cross over Jerusalem is attested also by other sources in connection with the collapse of Julian's ambitious plan to rebuild the Temple: Philostorgius (ca. 430), *Ecclesiastical History* 3.26; Sozomen (early fifth century), *Ecclesiastical History*, 4.5; Theodor Lector (sixth century), *Historia Tripartita* 2.87. See Bihain, "L'Épître de Cyrille," 266–267; Irshai, "Cyril of Jerusalem," 88.

mind with the narrative of the discovery of the True Cross, which, as mentioned earlier, was probably also composed in Jerusalem during Cyril's term as bishop.

In any event, I would like to suggest that, while the Bishop of Jerusalem was busy promoting his city as the address for sacred events that had taken place there in the past, were occurring there in the present, and would happen there in the future, the Christians in Rome were recalling their own local foundational events. The new Jerusalemite traditions stimulated a visual echo in the form of local representations of the Adoration of the Elevated Christogram. This was possible because Rome had its own relic of the original cross, as well as its "own" celestial vision, connected with the Emperor. Thus, the cross/column topped by a Christogram may originally have signified Jerusalem's holy sites and Christ's victory over death—especially when the sleeping soldiers were included—but when Peter and Paul are added to this conflation of motifs in the second half or even the last third of the fourth century, they shift the orientation to Rome. They thus function not only as the local intercessors at the End of Days, but as the local witnesses, claiming Constantine's own vision, the first staurophany, as of Roman origin.⁵⁶

Jumping now to sixth- and seventh-century representations of the Adoration of the Cross by Peter and Paul, we will find that it continues to be used to enhance the local reputation—but now in Palestine. A composition with Peter and Paul flanking a monumental cross was popular in sixth- and seventh-century portable Palestinian art. The gap in time would seem to imply that this is an independent group, without a direct connection to the Roman invention, but the wide range of objects on which it appears, and the variations in the scene, suggest a similar context of local use and relevance. This being the case, the main difference in content between the earlier Roman representations and the later Palestinian group will help clarify the local components of the fourth-century Roman group, and suggest a reason for their early use.

A few examples will suffice:

- (1) On a sixth-century Palestinian bread stamp now in Vienna (Fig. 29), Peter and Paul (identified by inscriptions) stand on either side of a large cross; there is a tree between each saint and the cross.⁵⁷ The cross stands on the hill of Golgotha from which the four rivers flow.

56. Cf. Stefan Heid, "Vexillum Crucis: Das Kreuz als Religions-, Missions-, und Imperialsymbol in der frühen Kirche," *RAC* 78 (2002): 191–259, esp. 198–209, suggests that these representations reflect the role of the apostles as witnesses of Christ, spreading the word of the cross to the universe.

57. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. Antikensammlung V 2014. See George Galavaris, *Bread and Liturgy: The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), 145–148, fig. 79; Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 566 (L. Kotzschke), 628–629; Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem*, 98.

- (2) Another example, in the same museum, is an onyx gem with a related group of motifs.⁵⁸ The cross stands above a line of flowers, showing it to be the life-giving cross. It is surmounted by a bust of Christ, implying that this cross is not only the historical cross of Golgotha but also the one that heralds Christ's return.⁵⁹
- (3) A fragmentary glass chalice in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, dated to the late sixth or early seventh century, is decorated with two groups adoring a cross.⁶⁰ On the better-preserved side, archangels flank a cross placed inside an architectural edifice that represents the Holy Sepulchre. On the other side, severely damaged, a large *crux gemmata* is flanked by an *Omega*, stars, a tree, and a figure, probably Peter. The likely counterparts, *Alpha* and Paul(?), and perhaps also a hill with four rivers, have not survived.
- (4) Similar adoration groups decorate the body of a silver reliquary in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. The reliquary has recently been attributed to Palestine and dated to the seventh century.⁶¹ On the right side of the casket the cross is flanked by busts of Peter and Paul; on the left side, half-figures of the archangels Michael and Gabriel seem to support the cross with their wings.⁶²

In contrast to fourth-century Rome, Peter and Paul do not flank a labarum in the Palestinian variations. They do not even flank a simple *Chi-Rho* monogram. They do not flank a column. They adore a cross. Whether it is erected on

58. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. Antikensammlung IX 2607; Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 525 (M. E. Frazer); Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem*, 98.

59. See recently on crosses with the bust of Christ, Noga-Banai, "Brass Cross in Munich," with additional bibliography there.

60. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, DC, acc. no.1937.21; see M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 1: *Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1962), no. 96; Victor H. Elbern, "Ein christliches Kultgefäß aus Glas in der Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 4 (1962): 17–41, esp. 22–24; repr. in Elbern, *Fructus Operis* 2 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2003), 195–219; Dan Barag, "Glass Pilgrim Vessels from Jerusalem: Part III," *Journal of Glass Studies* 13 (1971): 61–62; Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 545, 609–610; Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem*, 98.

61. Royal Ontario Museum, inv. no. 986.181.62; Galit Noga-Banai and Linda Safran, "A Late Antique Silver Reliquary in Toronto," *JLA* 4, no. 1 (2011): 3–30.

62. All the names are incised in Greek (three of the four are misspelled); see Noga-Banai and Safran, "Late Antique Silver Reliquary," 8–9. The authors adduce comparable contemporary compositions produced outside Palestine on medallions that also feature Christ and Mary accompanied by Peter and Paul and archangels. The popularity of this group emphasizes the exceptional combination seen in the Dumbarton Oaks chalice and in the Toronto reliquary, where Christ and Mary are absent. The crosses of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre are the focus of the acclamation composition on the chalice.

Golgotha, decorated with gems, accompanied by trees or the *Alpha-Omega*, the cross on the Palestinian examples resembles the historical one of the Crucifixion or the memorial one erected on Golgotha (or both); in addition, it may hint toward the precursor cross at the End of Days. The diffusion and variation in the production of this scene, at a time when pilgrimage and pilgrimage art were flourishing in Palestine, suggest that the appearance of Peter and Paul in the Palestinian compositions functioned to promote or glorify a Jerusalemite cross or, rather, site. As in fourth-century Rome, where the elevated Christogram represents Constantine's labarum, in sixth- and seventh-century Jerusalem, the monumental cross represents the local significance of the cross and the holy sites connected with it. The Palestinian examples show the reuse of the Roman composition and Roman celebrity martyrs, and local adaptations are designed to promote and authenticate the local heritage and *loca sancta*.⁶³

What about the strigil sarcophagus described earlier from S. Sebastiano (Fig. 27), where the elevated Christogram is set over a monumental cross, the shaft of which is erected on a hill representing Golgotha? Here we have a late fourth-century example, produced in Rome, which explicitly includes a detail that refers to a specific site in Jerusalem. If I am right, and the *Adoratio* variations in the second half of the fourth century in Rome formed a counterpoint to Jerusalemite traditions in the making (i.e., those of the staurophany and perhaps also the finding of the cross), then the sarcophagus in S. Sebastiano subsumes the Jerusalemite site under Roman spiritual authority. It subordinates Golgotha to the Christogram at the top, and to Peter and Paul on the sides. Thus, the sarcophagus in S. Sebastiano reflects a discourse of contested sacred topography between Rome and Jerusalem. Considering such Roman compositions as responses to Jerusalemite traditions suggests that the fifth-century Roman liturgical commemoration of the *Inventio crucis* (mentioned in the beginning of the chapter) might be seen in similar terms. In the following section, I focus on one specific example that supports this functional interpretation of Roman artistic compositions in the historical context suggested here.

63. The comparison between the Roman and Palestinian compositions alerts us to an important research question concerning site-specific and pilgrimage art. Why does Palestinian portable art decorated with site-specific iconography appear only as late as the sixth century, whereas, as we have seen, Roman art had already developed locally rooted details in the fourth-century, in the Passion sarcophagi and, even more significantly, in contemporary portable art. It is as if, prior to the sixth century, the association between the sites and the textual sources in Palestine was enough. There was no need for mementos, as there was no need for relics, except for those of the cross. This changed, for various reasons, later on. See the discussion on the casket from Pola in chapter 3 below and the bibliography there.

The Crossing of the Red Sea Sarcophagus in Split (Croatia)

An elevated Christogram adored by two apostles, most likely Peter and Paul, decorates the right side-panel of a so-called Crossing of the Red Sea sarcophagus, now housed in the Archaeological Museum in Split (*Rep.* II, no. 146).⁶⁴ This is the only extant example of the composition among Red Sea sarcophagi (Fig. 30, Pl. 8). It was probably not unique, however, because, as it happens, the sarcophagus in Split, although exceptional insofar as it is intact, is but one of a total of half a dozen Red Sea sarcophagi, to which we may also add fragments of about twice as many others. There is a possibility then, that the same *Adoratio* relief decorated other sarcophagi in the group. The Crossing of the Red Sea sarcophagi compose a subgroup of the city-gate sarcophagi, so called on account of the city-gate setting added above the scene on the front and sometimes on the side panels as well. The sarcophagus of Stilicho in Milan, discussed in chapter 1 (Fig. 13), represents another subgroup of city-gate sarcophagi, in which the central scene shows *Dld*.⁶⁵ Another subgroup, known as the Bethesda sarcophagi, has the Healing of the Lame Man (John 5:2–9) at its center; this group is the subject of the next section of the chapter. Almost all of the sarcophagi belonging to the lavish city-gate type were made in Rome during the last quarter of the fourth century.⁶⁶

The front of the sarcophagus in Split narrates the drama of the escape from Egypt in three acts, reading from left to right. The first section shows four

64. Clementina Rizzardi, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani con rappresentazione del passaggio del Mar Rosso* (Faenza: Fratelli Lega, 1970), no. 29.

65. For the classification of the city-gate sarcophagi and the ramifications of this grouping, see Marion Lawrence, "City-Gate Sarcophagi," *Art Bulletin* 10 (1927/8): 1–45, esp. 23–24; cf. Rina Sansoni, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani a porte di città* (Bologna: R. Pàtron, 1969).

66. The group of city-gate sarcophagi consists of about twenty-five sarcophagi in good condition and fragments of about another thirty-five sarcophagi. The term appeared for the first time in Lawrence, "City-Gate Sarcophagi." For the Crossing of the Red Sea subgroup, see the catalogue compiled by Rizzardi, *I sarcofagi*, chap. 2. I follow Jutta Dresken-Weiland, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage* II (Mainz: von Zabern, 1998), and Brigitte Christern Briesenick, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage III: Frankreich, Algerien, Tunesien* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2003). On the basis of stylistic criteria, they attribute most of the city-gate sarcophagi, including the Red Sea sarcophagi and those found outside Rome, to Roman workshops in the last quarter of the fourth century. For a different view, see Jaś Elsner, "'Pharaoh's Army Got Drowned': Some Reflections on Jewish and Roman Genealogies in Early Christian Art," in *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and David Nirenberg (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 10–44, esp. 12 n. 5; Koch, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 299, 490–492, cf. Jutta Dresken-Weiland's review of Koch's handbook in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 254 (2002): 28–46. Concerning the other five Red Sea sarcophagi with complete front panels, one is in the Vatican Collection (*Rep.* I, no. 64; Rizzardi, *I sarcofagi*, no. 26); three are in Arles—two in the Musée de l'Arles Antique (*Rep.* III, nos. 43, 44; Rizzardi, *I sarcofagi*, nos. 5, 11) and one in the Cathedral of St. Trophime (*Rep.* III, no. 119; Rizzardi, *I sarcofagi*, no. 3); and one is in the Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence (*Rep.* III, no. 21; Rizzardi, *I sarcofagi*, no. 1).

soldiers, two of them mounted, emerging from a city gate, Pharaoh at their head. The soldiers wear helmets, short tunics under armor, and mantles. Each carries a shield in one hand and a lance in the other. Pharaoh rides in a chariot (*biga*). He is distinguished among the soldiers by his almost full frontal pose; he stands upright and raises a shield with his left hand. He wears a long tunic under his armor and is bareheaded. The band on his curly hair designates him as a ruler. Below the feet of the soldiers and horses are three small reclining personifications, most likely representing the fertile Land of Egypt and the Red Sea.⁶⁷ The next section shows the Egyptian troops drowning.⁶⁸ Moses, in a tunic, *pallium*, and sandals, holds a scroll in his left hand; with his right hand he grasps a rod, with which he directs the sea to return to its bed. His figure separates the Israelites in the third section from the drowning Egyptians and the sea. The people of Israel are represented by eight adults, including one woman (Miriam, Moses's sister), along with four children. The latter are given genre motifs: two of them are held by the hand, and one grasps Miriam's *pallium*. Two persons carry a sack of bread or a rolled cloak slung around neck and shoulders, recalling Exodus 12:34. Miriam, located on the far right, is recognizable by the stick in her right hand and the tambourine in her left (Exod. 15:20). Behind her is a column of light (Exod. 13:21–22; 14:19–20; 14:24). Miriam and one person in the group of Israelites look back toward Moses and the sea. Together with Moses and his rod, these figures balance the composition and counteract the illusion of motion from the left, so that the viewer concentrates on the drowning scene represented between Pharaoh and Moses.

The right side of the Split sarcophagus is decorated with the Adoration of the Elevated Christogram. The shaft of a cross supports a large wreath with a Christogram and ribbons at the center; it is flanked by two apostles, wearing *pallia* and holding scrolls. The two apostles frame the cross like parentheses: their heads turn in profile toward the center; each has one leg extended to the side, almost touching the shaft of the cross. Specific physiognomies are absent and the names of these figures are not inscribed, but given the popularity of the *Adoratio* scene with Peter and Paul, they were probably recognized as these apostles.⁶⁹ The left side is decorated with a scale pattern. It is unusual for sarcophagi produced in Rome to be decorated on all four sides; here, however,

67. Theodor Klauser, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage in Bild und Wort* (Olten: Urs Graf, 1966), 42; Rizzardi, *I sarcophagi*, 34, 41–42.

68. On the sarcophagus in Saint Trophime (*Rep.* III, no. 119; Rizzardi, *I sarcophagi*, no. 3) Pharaoh can be distinguished among his troops by his beard and headband. He is drowning head down, next to Moses's rod, as if he were acclaiming Moses by proskynesis.

69. Cf. a gold-glass bottom in the Museo Sacro, inv. no. 60764, showing a column topped by a Christogram and flanked by two unidentified young apostles; see Donati et al., *Pietro e Paolo*, cat. no. 92.

the back shows the figure of the deceased in the center, with an apostle on the far right and another one on the far left. A strigilated pattern fills the space between the figures.

The sarcophagus in Aix-en-Provence (*Rep.* III, no. 21), the only other Crossing of the Red Sea sarcophagus with a fully extant decoration, presents a different program.⁷⁰ While the crossing scene figures on the front, the lateral panels carry a Moses cycle: on the left side (Fig. 31), in front of a city-gate background, Moses is seen leaving an enthroned Pharaoh, to prepare the people of Israel to depart (Exod. 12:31–32). Next, he is seen receiving a scroll from God. This could be meant as a rendering of Moses receiving the Law; but according to the sequence of events as told in the Bible, it should instead be read as God commissioning Moses as leader.⁷¹ Perhaps it was meant to convey that Moses's interaction with Pharaoh was directed by God, as well as the departure of the Israelites from Egypt portrayed in the corner frame. The right side-panel (Fig. 32) features two miracles performed while the Israelites wandered in the desert: the Miracle of Water from the Rock (Exod. 17:1–7) and the Descent of Quails (Exod. 16:13). The decoration of the sarcophagus in Aix may be associated with 1 Corinthians 10:1–4, where Paul draws an analogy between the Crossing of the Red Sea and the miracles in the desert to the Christian baptism and Eucharist:

Moreover, brethren, I do not want you to be unaware that all our fathers were under the cloud, all passed through the sea, all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, all ate the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink. For they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ.

It is impossible to know the extent to which these two decorative programs in Aix and Split are indeed representative of the entire group of Red Sea sarcophagi. At all events, they represent two approaches to the placement of the Crossing scene within a decorative program—that is, either as part of an elaborated Moses cycle, or as an independent representation. Both possibilities may imply a reference to the Baptism of Christ, an implication to which I shall return later, but first and foremost, they emphasize the role of Moses as the hero of a biblical cycle, on the one hand, and as the hero of a narrative picture that captures the center of a decoration program, on the other. When we compare these depictions to other Roman Moses representations, especially after the second half of the fourth century when the fuller Moses cycle begins to

70. Rizzardi, *I sarcophagi*, no. 1.

71. Klauser, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 43.

appear, it is evident that Moses has a special function in local Roman art.⁷² It is best expressed in the context of the city-gate sarcophagi with *Dld* scenes, such as the one in Milan (Fig. 13); note also the silver reliquary in Thessaloniki, where the scene of Moses receiving the Law is paired with that of Peter receiving or supporting the scroll of law held by Christ in the neighboring composition of *Dld* (Figs. 15, 16).⁷³ As was suggested in chapter 1, one stimulus toward the creation of visual connections between Peter and Moses as transmitters of the Law could have been the presence in Rome of the venerable copy of the Mosaic Law, taken from the Jerusalem Temple in Rome.

The juxtaposition of Peter and Moses took shape during the fourth century, whether by depicting Peter next to Moses or in the guise of Moses or by portraying Moses in the guise of Peter; it can be seen in various media and various confections, such as the image of Peter Striking the Rock for water.⁷⁴ Moses, who led Israel out of Egypt and through the desert and received the Law from God, was evidently the perfect *typos* for Peter and his successors, as they staked the claim for Rome's precedence in leadership of the church. The Red

72. Moses cycles in Rome appear in the catacombs of the Via Latina (mid-fourth century); on the wooden doors of S. Sabina; and in the nave of S. Maria Maggiore (both of the latter in the 430s). See Gisela Jeremias, *Die Holztür der Basilika S. Sabina in Rom* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1980), pl. 15; for a comparison of the Roman Moses cycles, see Beat Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975), 85–86 and fig. 51. For the restoration of the Moses cycle in Old St. Peter and in S. Paolo f.l.m., see Herbert L. Kessler, “Capus et Speculum Ecclesiarum”: Old St. Peter and Church Decoration in Medieval Latium,” in Kessler, *Studies in Pictorial Narrative* (London: Pindar, 1994), 393–432, figs. 1, 2. The most elaborated Moses cycle appears in the Ashburnham Pentateuch, recently attributed by Bezalel Narkiss to fifth-century Rome. See his *El Pentateuco Ashburnham: La ilustración de códices en la antigüedad Tardia* (Valencia: Patrimonio Ediciones, 2007).

73. See chapter 1 n. 95 above and chapter 3 n. 119 below.

74. One of the best examples of the conflation of Moses and Peter is the representation of Peter on a gold-glass bottom in the Vatican. Peter is seen striking the rock; the water is greenish-bluish. The two drinking soldiers who are usually included in the scene are missing; thus, if the glass were not inscribed with the name Petrus, we would have understood the figure to be Moses, as is the case with a similar gold-glass bottom in Aquileia Museo Archeologico Nazionale. See Donati et al., *Pietro e Paolo*, cat. no. 44; Luigi Marcuzzi, *Aquileia und seine Kunstschatze* (Aquileia: Società per la Conservazione della Basilica di Aquileia, 1993), 52; For Peter's and Moses's water miracles, see n. 35 above. See also Carl. A. Kneller, “Moses und Petrus,” *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* 60 (1901): 237–257; Eduard Stommel, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie der konstantinischen Sarkophagplastik*, Theophania 10 (Bonn: Hanstein, 1954), 104–106; Manuel Sotomayor, *Sarcophagos Romano-Christianos de España: estudio iconografico* (Granada: Facultad de Teología, 1975), 147–152; Luc Renaut, “Moïse, Pierre et Mithra, dispensateurs d'eau: Figures et contre-figures du baptême dans l'art et la littérature des quatre premiers siècles,” in *Fons Vitae: Baptême, baptistères et rites d'initiation (IIe–VIe siècles)*; *Actes de la journée d'études, Université de Lausanne, 1er décembre 2006*, ed. Ivan Foletti and Serena Romano (Rome: Viella, 2009), 39–64. For Moses's water miracles in Byzantine art, see C.-O. Nordström, “The Water Miracles of Moses in Jewish Legend and Byzantine Art,” *Orientalia Suecana* 7 (1958): 78–109; Jeffrey Spier, “The Earliest Christian Art: From Personal Salvation to Imperial Power,” in *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*, ed. Jeffrey Spier (exhibition catalogue New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 1–23, esp. 10–11; Dresken-Weiland, *Bild, Grab, und Wort*, 119–135.

Sea Crossing is no doubt Moses's most impressive miracle; thus, it is a representative narrative suitable for a front panel, much more so than Moses Receiving the Law or Striking the Rock for water; in the second half of the fourth century both of these were usually designed as corner scenes located at the end of a register or a panel. But the Crossing of the Red Sea scene does not express either judicial superiority or the association of Moses with Peter. Moreover, the typology of Peter and Moses does not explain, at least thus far, the conflation of the Red Sea scene with the *Adoratio* composition, as seen in Split.

The representation of the drowning Egyptians in the Crossing of the Red Sea scene had come to be included among sarcophagi decorated with biblical scenes by the first half of the fourth century.⁷⁵ Only in the Red Sea group, however, does the elaborated narrative of the crossing of the sea occupy the entire façade. This expansion is contemporary with the popularity of the *Adoratio* scene featuring the elevated, wreathed Christogram. In my earlier discussion of the *Adoratio*, the Constantinian vision of the celestial sign came to the fore. The *Adoratio* composition on the right side-panel of the Split sarcophagus may direct us to read the scene of the Crossing of the Red Sea on the front panel as a visual reference to the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. The analogy between this historical battle and the Red Sea Crossing was first drawn by Eusebius, who named Constantine as Moses and described Maxentius as the tyrant (Pharaoh); but the two events are close enough in concept that such a connection could have been realized by others as well.⁷⁶ An artistic indication of such an association may have been represented on the Crossing of the Red Sea sarcophagus in Metz. In this composition, Miriam originally held a tambourine that, according to visual and textual sources (the sarcophagus was badly damaged during the French Revolution), was marked with a Christogram (Fig. 33). If that was in fact part of

75. For example: *Rep.* I, nos. 41, 714, 899; *Rep.* II, no. 12; *Rep.* III, nos. 41, 162.

76. *Vit. Const.* 1.38.2–5; cf. *Hist. eccl.* 9.4–8. See Jan Willem Drijvers, "Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* and the Construction of the Image of Maxentius," in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, ed. Hagit Amirav and Bas Ter Haar Romeny (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 11–27. For the rhetorical use of biblical metaphors as ideological and literary examples for emperors, see Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), esp. 54–57, 145, on the association of Constantine with Moses. Cf. Claudia Rapp, "Comparison, Paradigm, and the Case of Moses in Panegyric and Hagiography," in *The Propaganda of Power*, ed. Mary Whitby (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 277–298, esp. 286–292; Rapp, "Imperial Ideology in the Making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as Bishop," *JTS* n.s. 49, no. 2 (1998): 685–695; and see Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 125–131, where Rapp argues that Eusebius constructed his *Life of Constantine* around the idea that Constantine was another Moses; most recently, see Finn Damgaard, *Recasting Moses: The Memory of Moses in Biographical and Autobiographical Narratives in Ancient Judaism and 4th-Century Christianity* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2013).

the original decoration, than the association between the Crossing of the Red Sea and the Battle of Milvian Bridge was clearly signaled.⁷⁷

The interpretation of the crossing scene as a reference to the Battle of Milvian Bridge was first formulated by Erich Becker in 1910.⁷⁸ Writing before the discovery of the third-century synagogue in Dura Europos, and without taking account of certain stylistic features of the sarcophagi, he suggested that the Crossing of the Red Sea design was an innovation of the Constantinian Renaissance.⁷⁹ Becker identified a Roman compositional and thematic prototype on the Arch of Constantine (erected in 315), in the relief representing the defeat of Maxentius (Pl. 9). This scene is rendered, like the Crossing scene on the sarcophagi, in three sections; Constantine's soldiers stand on the river bank at the corners, while at the center some of his troops are on horseback, above Maxentius's men who are being swallowed up in the waters of the Tiber.⁸⁰ Having what he thought was a contemporary visual model (Constantine's Arch) and textual source (Eusebius), Becker interpreted the figure of Moses holding the staff as Moses–Constantine.⁸¹

Since Becker's article, it has come to light that the Crossing scene had already been represented in third-century Syria, and that the Red Sea sarcophagi are dated several decades after the Constantinian arch. This does not rule out the possibility that a Roman sculptor working on a sarcophagus and seeking

77. *Rep.* III, no. 340; Josef A. Schmoll genannt Eisenwerth, "Das Grabmal Kaiser Ludwigs des Frommen in Metz," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 45 (1974): 75–96; Jean Diognon, "Le Monogramme cruciforme du sarcophage paléochrétien de Metz représentant le passage de la Mer Rouge: Un symbole de triomphe sur la mort dans le cadre d'une iconographie aulique d'inspiration constantienne," *CA* 12 (1962): 65–87; Cf. Elsner, "Pharaoh's Army Got Drowned," 14–15.

78. Erich Becker, "Konstantin der Grosse, der 'neue Moses': Die Schlacht am Pons Milvius und die Katastrophe am Schilfmeer," *ZKG* 31 (1910): 161–171. Cf. Fernand Benoit, *Sarcophages paléochrétiens d'Arles et de Marseille*, Gallia Suppl. 5 (Paris: CNRS, 1954), 22 no.10; Sabine G. McCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 37–38.

79. For the scene in Dura, see Carl H. Kraeling, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report VIII*, pt. 1: *The Synagogue* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1956), 74–86; Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1990), 38–52, figs. 48, 49.

80. R. Ross Holloway, *Constantine and Rome* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 36–37, fig. 2.29.

81. To support this assumption, Becker cited the relic of Moses's rod, which, according to the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*, II, 40, was treasured, together with Constantine's relic of the True Cross, in the emperor's palace complex in Constantinople. Becker, "Konstantin der Grosse," 164–168; "Protest gegen den Kaiserkult und Verherrlichung des Sieges am Pons Milvius in der christlichen Kunst der konstantinischen Zeit," in *Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit*, ed. Franz J. Dölger (Freiburg: Herder, 1913), 181–183. Recently, on the biblical relics in the palace, see Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 97–98, 216–217. On Moses' rod, see chapter 1, n. 54 above.

a model for the drowning Egyptian army might have looked at a historical monument such as the arch. On the contrary, the personifications, and in particular, the children holding their parents' hands, testify to the careful choice and intelligent use of Roman motifs.⁸² Moreover, the dynamic composition across the entire front, crowded with figures, with the relief touching all frames, brings to mind third-century sarcophagi produced in Rome prior to Constantine's triumph; compare, for instance, the third-century sarcophagus decorated on its front with an Abduction of Proserpina.⁸³ This may be contrasted with the design of the fourth-century Passion sarcophagi or the so-called Bethesda sarcophagi (discussed in the next section), where the front is divided by columns and/or decorated with multiple scenes. The Roman model, and even the Roman antique style, employed in the Crossing sarcophagi enhance the possibility that the increase of representations in the second half of the fourth century in Rome was meant to make prominent the local Roman significance of the scene.⁸⁴

One might ask why, if the battle of Constantine had a special local significance for Rome, it was not expressed in the contemporary visual arts apart from the earlier relief on Constantine's arch. Was it because Constantine had transferred the capital to the East and Rome reacted by avoiding the reproduction of his figure? I find it hard to believe that Rome would so easily abandon this local foundational narrative related to the first Christian Roman emperor. The narrative of the battle, including the role of the *Signum Dei*, was crucial for the foundational history of Christian Rome. The battle was the turning point for the ending of the persecutions and the formal recognition of the Church. It seems more likely that the identification of the biblical event with the Battle of the Milvian Bridge was deeply rooted in the cultural memory of Rome; thus, representations of the Crossing were taken for granted as pointers to the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. Suitable for funerary contexts, this image emphasized the Christian aspect of the early fourth-century event over the imperial.⁸⁵ Although we have no definite answer for the (polemic?) evasion of direct representations of Constantine's battle, the popularity of the Crossing scene in Rome is visually documented. The Crossing of the Red Sea covers an entire wall in cubiculum C

82. Elsner, "Pharaoh's Army Got Drowned," 19–28.

83. For examples and comparisons, see Galit Noga-Banai, "The Sarcophagus of Louis the Pious in Metz: A Roman Memory Reused," *Frühmittelalterlichen Studien* 45 (2011): 37–50.

84. Noga-Banai, "Sarcophagus of Louis the Pious," 29–30.

85. Perhaps this scene was more appealing than that of the Roman battle to the Christian aristocratic families who could afford such lavish decorations. See Robert R. Chenault, *Rome without Emperors: The Revival of a Senatorial City in the Fourth Century CE* (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008).

and in cubiculum O of the catacomb of the Via Latina.⁸⁶ Apart from the salvific meaning of the Crossing scene, it was probably also its Roman significance that determined the inclusion of the Crossing in the decoration of the Basilica of St. Peter. The lower register on the right side of the nave was decorated sometime in the fourth century with scenes from Exodus, ending with the Crossing of the Red Sea expanded over two panels.⁸⁷ This was probably no coincidence.

Reading the Crossing scene as a reference to the fourth-century battle, two clarifications are in order. First, the extant corpus of the Red Sea sarcophagi yields one combination of the Crossing of the Red Sea with the *Adoratio* (in Split), and one possible example of the Christogram on Miriam's tambourine (in Metz). Both sarcophagi were most likely produced in the same Roman workshop. It therefore might be argued against my interpretation that the two sarcophagi represent the conception of a single specific workshop. Second, a variety of textual sources associate the Crossing of the Red Sea with the idea and liturgy of baptism, and this association could in fact, as is usually argued, have been an incentive behind this decorative program, which emphasizes redemption by water. Patristic writers used the Crossing narrative to connect the biblical past with future salvation through the baptism liturgy performed at Easter. Liberation from Egypt was commemorated as part and parcel of the Easter event, typologically connected with the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ.⁸⁸ Moreover, influenced by Origen's

86. See Lieselotte Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, *Die neue Katakomben an der Via Latina in Rom: Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie der alttestamentlichen Wandmalereien*, JACSup 4 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1976), 79–83, pls. 18b, 18d; William Tronzo, *The Via Latina Catacomb: Imitation and Discontinuity in Fourth-Century Roman Painting* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), figs. 2, 3; Antonio Ferrua, *The Unknown Catacomb* (Florence: Daedalus, 1990), 88–89, 144–145. In cubiculum O the miracle of the Crossing takes place under a shining star, perhaps, like the elevated Christogram, alluding to the divine sign that Constantine saw and, at the same time, to the celestial sign that was to herald the Messiah. Cf. Hillel I. Newman, "Stars of the Messiah," in *Tradition, Transmission, and Transformation from Second Temple Literature through Judaism and Christianity in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, ed. Menachem Kister et al., STDJ 136 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 272–303.

87. Herbert L. Kessler, "Passover in Old St. Peter's," *Jewish Art* 12/13 (1986/7): 169–178; repr. in Kessler, *Studies*, 433–451, esp. 441; Kessler, *Old St. Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Italy* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 2002), 76–77, 98–99.

88. On the basis of 1 Corinthians 10:1–2, many church fathers considered the narrative of the Crossing of the Red Sea to be a *typos* of baptism. See Franz J. Dölger, "Der Durchzug durch das Rote Meer als Sinnbild der christlichen Taufe," *Antike und Christentum* 2 (1931): 63–69. See also the discussions in Kurt Wessel, "Durchzug durch das Rote Meer," *RAC* 4 (1959): 370–389, esp. 376–381; and Spier, *Earliest Christian Art*, 11. For the eschatological typology of the Crossing of the Red Sea and baptism, see Jean Daniélou, *Liturgie und Bibel: Die Symbolik der Sakramente bei den Kirchenvätern* (Munich: Kösel, 1963), 90–102. Cf. Klauser, *Frühchristliche Sarkophage*, 81–82, who rejects any political argument for the decoration program of the sarcophagi (Becker's theory) and suggests that the source of the motif might be a Jewish or Christian paradigmatic prayer that was said during funerals, in which God is asked to rescue the soul as he saved the people of Israel; cf. Elsner, "Pharaoh's Army Got Drowned," 29–33, who

interpretations of the Passover narrative, Christian writers interpreted the Crossing as the spiritual passage of Christ from death to life, as well as the spiritual passage of Christians themselves.⁸⁹ These connections may explain the popularity of the scene on Roman sarcophagi, but they do not explain the ad hoc group of representations of the last quarter of the fourth century. Moreover, designing the scene to occupy an entire sarcophagus front, a decision unparalleled in contemporary treatments of any other biblical scene, prompts the suggestion that this salvation narrative was selected because it had some kind of ideological significance rather than for its replication of a general Christian message.

The period in which the Crossing sarcophagi appeared—the last quarter of the fourth century—is the same one in which the local compositions of the *Dld* and the Adoration of the Elevated Christogram by Peter and Paul came to the fore. The *Adoratio* and Crossing scenes were used to construct images associated with local historical events and circumstances for the urban memory of its faithful citizens. They present two different rhetorical strategies. One is formal, using a representative composition that can deliver at least two meanings or, rather, two celestial signs: the historical apparition of the “sign of God” (*signum Dei*) to Constantine, and the cross that is to foretell the End of Days. The other takes up a biblical narrative and gives it a “Roman” design, so that it alludes to the local triumph of Constantine at the Milvian Bridge. It seems that the motivation for these local Roman configurations, the Adoration of the Christogram and the conflation of the Red Sea Crossing with the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, was the sequence of Jerusalemite apparitions of the celestial cross in 351 and 363. The Red Sea sarcophagus in Split, like the portable objects decorated with the Adoration of the Elevated Christogram by Peter and Paul, remind the viewer that the *earliest* staurophany was of Roman origin and suggest that the coming “Sign of the Son of Man” will also distinguish the city of Peter and Paul.

The impulse to compose a decorative program that would respond to stories coming from Jerusalem was not necessarily directly stimulated by the presence of actual Jerusalemite relics in Rome, but the presence of the relics acted as a sort of magnet to draw other narratives and traditions to the city. In the next section I will study one particular group of sarcophagi. This analysis will support the

thinks that the Red Sea sarcophagi represent antiquarian classicism of the Theodosian period, in which an appropriation of Roman iconography combined with the adoption of Jewish narrative resulted in a Christian picture signifying a Christian message of triumph over pagan persecutors and of Christian salvation.

89. See Ruth A. Clements, “*Peri Pascha*: Passover and the Displacement of Jewish Interpretation within Origen’s Exegesis” (PhD diss., Harvard Divinity School, 1997), esp. 363–367.

claim that fourth-century Rome was familiar with and responded artistically to contemporary Jerusalemite traditions; it will also show that the Roman attitude toward Jerusalem was not unvarying, and that Rome reacted through a wide range of visual reflexes.

THE SO-CALLED BETHESDA SARCOPHAGI

Like the Red Sea sarcophagi, the Bethesda sarcophagi, so called after the scene featured at their center, the Healing of the Lame Man beside the Pool of Bethesda (John 5:2–9), belongs to the larger group of city-gate sarcophagi, discussed earlier. Only three of the Bethesda sarcophagi have survived intact. One is in the Museo Pio Cristiano in the Vatican (Figs. 34, 35; *Rep.* I, no. 63); one is in the Cathedral of Tarragona (Spain), where it is inserted (*spolia*) in the façade wall (Fig. 36); and one is kept on the Island of Ischia (*Rep.* II, no. 145).⁹⁰ In all three, the scene of the healing does not (unlike the Crossing of the Red Sea earlier) take up the entire front; it is flanked on the right by Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:1–11; Mark 11:1–11; Luke 19:2–6; John 12:12–19), and on the left by two additional healing miracles: the Healing of Two Blind Men (Matt. 9:27–31; 20:29–34); and the Healing of the Woman with the Flow of Blood (the *Haemorrhissa*), represented by the figure of a kneeling woman (Matt. 9:20–22; Mark 5:25–34; Luke 8:43–48). The side panels of the sarcophagus in Tarragona were apparently decorated with Peter's Water Miracle and Daniel in the Lions' Den.⁹¹

The healing event at the center is narrated in two consecutive scenes represented in three sections. The first fills the space between the city gates and the ground line, and is followed by two scenes arranged in a register-like

90. Antonella Nicoletti, *I sarcofagi di Bethesda* (Milan: Stendhal, 1981); David Knipp, "Christus Medicus" in *der frühchristlichen Sarkophagskulptur: Ikonographische Studien der Sepulkralkunst des späten vierten Jahrhunderts*, VCSup 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 140–184. For the sarcophagus in the Cathedral of Tarragona, see Helmut Schlunk and Theodor Hauschild, *Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1978), pl. 21; Isabel Rodà, "Sarcófagos cristianos de Tarragona," in *Akten des Symposiums "125 Jahre Sarkophag-Corpus" Marburg, 4.–7. Oktober 1995*, ed. Guntram Koch (Mainz: von Zabern, 1998), 150–161, pl. 78.1. The front panel of one other example was found in the catacomb of Praetextatus (*Rep.* I, no. 556). It carries on the front a similar decorative program, but it stops at the point where the healing scene would be portrayed, directing the viewer instead to a two-column epitaph in hexameter verse, dedicated to a young Roman female named Bassa. See Barbara Mazzei, "A proposito del sarcofago di Bethesda delle catacombe di Pretestato," in *Sarcofagi tardoantichi, paleocristiani e altomedievali*, ed. Hugo Brandenburg and Fabrizio Bisconti, Monumenti di antichità Cristiana 2nd ser. 18 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2004), 111–130; Dennis E. Trout, "Borrowed Verse and Broken Narrative: Agency, Identity, and the (Bethesda) Sarcophagus of Bassa," in Elsner and Huskinson, *Life, Death, and Representation*, 337–358.

91. Nicoletti, *I sarcofagi di Bethesda*, 73–74, figs. 6 and 10 (fragment from Algiers); 144.

manner, one below the other. The first section shows Christ accompanied by two apostles; a column separates the group from the next pair of scenes. Christ's gaze and hand direct the viewer to the lower register of the next pair, where the lame man lies in bed surrounded by three or four small figures. The sick man raises his right hand and looks in the direction of Christ. Above the recumbent invalid, a rectangular frame, decorated with a drapery-like pattern (Vatican) or wave-like pattern (Tarragona and Ischia), provides the ground line for the figures composing the upper scene. Here, in front of a construction composed of four small columns, Christ supports the now-healed invalid, who carries a bed on his back, again accompanied by two or three small figures. The architectural background and the wave-like pattern in the rectangular frame were taken to represent the Bethesda Pool in accordance with the biblical text: "Now there is in Jerusalem by the Sheep Gate a pool, which is called in Hebrew, Bethesda, having five porches" (John 5:2). These details apparently mitigate against the reading of the scene as the Healing of the Paralytic in Capernaum (Mark 2:1–12; cf. Matt. 9:1–7; Luke 5:18–26).

The Healing of the Lame Man was one of the most popular scenes in Roman funerary art during the fourth century. Only the Resurrection of Lazarus and the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes were more popular. The scene was usually visualized in the catacombs by a man carrying a bed on his back. In the representations on sarcophagi, the healed man is accompanied by Christ; the scene is often located next to that of the Healing of the Two Blind Men. Apart from one example in which it was placed on the lid of the sarcophagus, the Healing of the Lame Man was always located on the sarcophagus body.⁹² Notwithstanding the frequent representations of the healing scene in this specific medium, the elaborated double-register composition at the center of events and the indication of a water source recur only in the Bethesda group.⁹³

92. All statistics are taken from Dresken-Weiland, *Bild, Grab und Wort*, 261. Dresken-Weiland indicates that it is not possible to distinguish, on sarcophagi, between the Healing of the Lame Man in Jerusalem and that of the Paralytic in Capernaum; see there, 259–66.

93. A healing miracle is not often found at the central point of a sarcophagus front. An earlier Healing of the Lame Man, without a representation of the water is located on the central front panel of a sarcophagus from Layos, Spain. See Sotomayor, *Sarcophagos Romano-Christianos de España*, pl. 2:2. A conflation of the Healing of the Woman with the Flow of Blood and Peter's Denial of Christ is on the central front panel of a column sarcophagus in Leiden. See Knipp, "*Christus Medicus*", pl. 55:3. One has to wait for the sixth-century representation of the scene in the mosaic decorating the Basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna to see an indication of water again. This may raise doubts concerning whether or not the pattern decorating the rectangular frame in the Bethesda sarcophagi actually refers to the water of the pool. After all, and strictly speaking, the invalid never makes it into the water in the actual story. He takes up his bed and walks.

Attempts to understand the selection of the Bethesda scene for the centerpiece of these sarcophagi usually involve recourse to a baptismal typology based on contemporary textual sources, such as Cyril of Jerusalem and Ambrose of Milan.⁹⁴ The scene has also been interpreted as alluding to the Resurrection, based on the last passage in the Johannine miracle narrative:

For the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and come forth—those who have done good, to the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil, to the resurrection of condemnation. I can of Myself do nothing. As I hear, I judge; and My judgment is righteous, because I do not seek My own will but the will of the Father who sent Me. (John 5:28–30)⁹⁵

The resurrection interpretation has been supported by the visual association of the lower part of the representation, the lame man on his bed, with images of Jonah under the Gourd-Vine.⁹⁶ This can particularly be seen in the sarcophagi in Rome and Ischia. In the Tarragona exemplar the lame man raises his hand toward Christ, but in Rome and Ischia, he either folds it behind his head (Vatican) or stretches it all the way to his bent knee (Ischia) in gestures typical of Jonah under the Gourd-Vine. If indeed the scene at the center of the sarcophagus was meant to imply resurrection, then the healing miracles on the left prepare for this event by attesting to the miraculous power of Christ, and the Entry into Jerusalem signifies the Resurrection as well as the Second Advent.⁹⁷ This is a decorative program appropriate for a funerary context, one that reflects the

94. See Cyril's "Homily of the Paralytic," trans. in Yarnold, Cyril of Jerusalem, 71–78; Ambrose, *De Mysteriis* 22–24; *De Sacramentis* II, 3, 6, 7, 9. For earlier baptismal symbolism ascribed to the Bethesda miracle, see Tertullian, *De baptismo* 5.

95. Friedrich W. Deichmann, *Ravenna: Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, vol. 1: *Geschichte und Monumente* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1969), 182–183; Knipp, "Christus Medicus", 157.

96. Visual sources such as a symposium meal, Jonah under the Gourd-Vine, and even pagan healing scenes have been suggested as visual forerunners. See Sotomayor, *Sarcophagos Romano-Christianos*, 217; Françoise Monfrin, "La Guérison du serviteur (Jn 4,43–54): Une nouvelle interprétation des sarcophages de Bethesda," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: Antiquité* 97, no. 2 (1985): 979–1020, esp. 984–985; Knipp, "Christus Medicus", 153–165. Helga Kaiser-Minn suggested that the visual source could have been a picture cycle of miniatures or wall paintings. This proposal was justly criticized by Nauerth. See Helga Kaiser-Minn, "Die Entwicklung der frühchristlichen Sarkophagplastik bis zum Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts," in *Spätantike und frühes Christentum: Ausstellung im Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik Frankfurt a. Main, 16.12.1983–11.3.1984*, ed. Herbert Beck and Peter C. Bol (Frankfurt: Liebieghaus, 1983), 333–334; cf., in the same catalogue, Claudia Nauerth, "Heilungswunder in der frühchristlichen Kunst," 339–346, esp. 341–344. For medieval representations, see Barbara Baert, "The Pool of Bethesda: The Cultural History of a Holy Place in Jerusalem," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 36 (2005): 1–17.

97. Erich Dinkler, *Der Einzug in Jerusalem: Ikonographische Untersuchungen im Anschluß an ein bisher unbekanntes Sarkophagfragment* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1970); Kim Huat Tan, *The Zion Tradition and the Aims of Jesus*, SNTSMS 91 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 137–157.

hope for and promise of salvation at the End of Days. There is apparently no reason to understand the group of the Bethesda sarcophagi as a reflection of the Jerusalem-Rome theme. The selection of the central scene and its exceptional design within the program, however, suggest that we should look for additional layers of meaning. Moreover, we have seen how other members of the city-gate group, with the Crossing of the Red Sea or *Dld* at their center, also carry, apart from salvific significance, additional layers of interpretation. If the scene at the center represents the Healing of the Lame Man in Jerusalem, some textual sources raise the possibility of confusion between the Bethesda and Siloam Pools, and this possibility brings to the fore an interpretive option associated with the Temple.⁹⁸ If, however, the architectural background of the scene is not taken to represent the five porches of the Bethesda Pool, and instead the scene is taken to represent the Healing of the Paralytic in Capernaum, there may be another reason for its prominence in the design. The following will discuss both possibilities, beginning with that of the healing narrative in Jerusalem.

The Miracle of the Lame Man in Bethesda, as narrated in John, speaks of the movement of the water in the pool:

In these lay a great multitude of sick people, blind, lame, paralyzed, waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain time into the pool and stirred up the water; then whoever stepped in first, after the stirring of the water, was made well of whatever disease he had. (John 5: 3–4)

The stirring of the water is baffling because it does not suggest Bethesda but rather the siphon system of the Gihon spring, the source of the water for the Pool of Siloam (Fig. 37),⁹⁹ where the blind man (John 9) washed the clay from his eyes. A fourth-century source not only mentions the Healing of the Lame Man, but explicitly associates it with Siloam. In his commentary on Tatian's *Diatessaron* (ca. 175), Ephrem the Syrian first quotes John 5:7 and then recalls

98. An elaborated version of this suggestion appears in Galit Noga-Banai "Loca Sancta and the Bethesda Sarcophagi," in *Heil und Heilung in der Spätantike: Kultorte, Denkmäler und Zeugnisse: Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana nell'Ecole Française de Rome-20 Maggio 2004*, ed. Hugo Brandenburg and Stefan Heid (Rome: Vatican City, 2007), 107–123.

99. During the Second Temple period, the name Siloam most likely designated the entire complex that included the Gihon spring, Hezekiah's Tunnel, and the Siloam Pool. See Ronny Reich, "From Gad Yawan to Siloah: On the History of the Gihon Spring," *ErIsr* 19 (1987): 330–333 (in Hebrew), with an English summary on p. 83; Ronny Reich and Eli Shukron, "The History of the Gihon Spring in Jerusalem," *Levant* 36 (2004): 211–223. For the tunnel of Hezekiah, see Robb A. Young, *Hezekiah in History and Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 48–50.

the long illness of the patient noted in 5:5. Expounding the significance of the episode, he asserts:

“[1] The-Jews are-put to-shame [2] who do not believe [3] that baptism forgives the-sins. [4] For if these [= they] believe [5] that the-angel through-the-water of Šilûhâ [6] healed (the-) illnesses, [7] how-much more [8] the-Lord of-the-Angels [9] rendered-white <the-white-things> [10] through baptism?”¹⁰⁰

Ephrem repeats this identification in one of his *Homilies on Epiphany* (9.6)¹⁰¹: “That pool of Šilûhâ / did not have mercy for the lying man / who longed for it thirty-eight years.” Elsewhere, Ephrem speaks of the canal of Siloam, in which the priests anointed Solomon (*Homilies on Epiphany* 7.13),¹⁰² and of the Pool of Siloam, in which the blind man washed himself (*Homilies on Epiphany* 7.22).¹⁰³

It is not clear whether the Bethesda Pool was already identified with Siloam in the *Diatessaron*—that is, that Tatian’s account spoke of only one pool in Jerusalem, called Bethesda in Hebrew (John 5:2)—or, rather, that Ephrem had independently concluded that Siloam was just another name for the Pool of Bethesda.¹⁰⁴ Perhaps the identification with Siloam was pursued because of the traditions connecting the Temple and its liturgy with the Siloam.¹⁰⁵

One of the greatest annual Temple festivities took place in the Temple courtyard during Sukkoth: the so called *Simḥat beit hasho’eva*, the “rejoicing at the place of water-drawing” (cf. Isa. 12:3).¹⁰⁶ This was probably held during the second night of the holiday.¹⁰⁷ From the time of Hezekiah onward, and later

100. Translated from the Armenian version by Tjitze Baarda, “Siloam in John 5,2?,” *ETL* 76, no. 1 (2000): 136–148. The translation is on p. 137. Cf. Carmel McCarthy, *Saint Ephrem’s Commentary on Tatian’s Diatessaron: An English Translation of Chester Beatty Syriac Ms. 709 with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 205.

101. Baarda, “Siloam in John 5,2?,” 142.

102. Baarda, 142.

103. Baarda, 142.

104. Baarda, 147.

105. In the biblical period, the Siloam played important political roles. Solomon was anointed at the Gihon Spring (1 Kings 1:38–39), which is the water source for the Siloam Pool. Under siege by Assyria, Hezekiah (ca. 700 BC) excavated a tunnel in order to convey water to Jerusalem from the Gihon, which flowed from outside the city walls, to the Siloam Pool within the walls (2 Kings 20:20; 2 Chron. 32:30).

106. For the controversy over the name of the celebration and its meaning, see Menachem Fox, “The Joy of the Place of Drawing (*Simḥat Beit Ha-shoayvah*),” *Tarbiz* 55 (1986): 173–216 (in Hebrew); Jeffrey L. Rubenstein, *The History of Sukkot in the Second Temple and Rabbinic Periods* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995), 141–145.

107. *Simḥat Beit Hasho’eva* was a nocturnal event which eventually coalesced around the water libation procession. “Excitement was built up during the all-night festivities in anticipation of the morning procession to the Siloam. These long and magnificent festivities enhanced the significance of the libation ritual.” See Rubenstein, *History of Sukkot*, 144–145.

during the Second Temple period (538 BCE–70 CE), the libation water for this celebration was drawn from the Siloam Pool, the waters of which were said to have purifying qualities.¹⁰⁸ From John 7:37–38, we learn that Christ came to speak in Jerusalem during the Feast of the Tabernacles:

On the last and greatest day of the festival, Jesus stood up and cried out: if anyone thirst, let him come and let him drink, who believe in me. As the scripture says, From within him shall flow rivers of living water.¹⁰⁹

The use of water as a metaphor for Jesus's teaching in this context could be connected to the libation water drawn from Siloam; the scriptural source here is Zechariah 14:8: "and when that day comes, living water will issue from Jerusalem," which is set in the eschatological context of the Feast of the Tabernacles (Zech. 14:17).¹¹⁰

The association of the Siloam Pool with the Temple, and the purifying quality of its water, may account for the miraculous powers attributed to the pool in the rabbinic and Christian traditions.¹¹¹ The concept of water connecting Siloam and the Temple was especially substantial for the Christian church. Like other Temple traditions, this one was adapted to fit Golgotha.¹¹²

108. *M. Suk* 4:9–10. On the ritual process, see Rubenstein, *History of Sukkot*, 117–120. On the purifying powers of the waters there, note the Tosefta: "Even if he immersed himself in the Siloam, or in all of the waters of creation, he will never, ever be clean" (*t. Tam.* 1:8). Jacob Neusner's English translation of the Tosefta prefers the word *fountain* to indicating the Siloam by name. See Jacob Neusner, *The Tosefta: Translated from the Hebrew with a New Introduction*, 2 vols. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2000), 1:622. However, the Hebrew text gives the name itself: Siloam. See Saul Lieberman, *The Tosefta according to Codex Vienna, with Variants from Codices Erfurt, London, Genizah Mss. and editio princeps Venice 1521* (New York: Rabinowitz Institute, 1962), 326.

109. For the question of the correct reading of John 7:37–38, see Rubenstein, *History of Sukkot*, 88 n. 142, with further bibliography there.

110. For the eschatological context of the festival and the full quotation of Zechariah 14:16–19, see the discussion of *Dominus legem dat* and the mosaic in S. Costanza in chapter 1 above.

111. For the quality of the water, see, for instance, Josephus, *B. J.* 5.140. For the rabbinic traditions, see, for instance, *m. Par.* 3:2, which relates that the ashes of the red heifer were mixed with water from Siloam. See Rubenstein, *History of Sukkot*, 119 n. 59. During the fifth century, a kind of Christian hospital (*xenon*) operated in the area of the site, as attested by an inscription found in the necropolis of Silwan. See Timothy S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 28.

112. For other traditions connected with Golgotha as the place of Abraham's sacrifice, the navel of the world, and the place of Adam's grave, see Georg Kretschmar, "Festkalender und Memorialstätten Jerusalems in Altkirchlicher Zeit," in *Jerusalem Heiligtumstraditionen in altkirchlicher und frühislamischer Zeit*, ed. Heribert Busse and Georg Kretschmar (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), 92–111. See also Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 82–83; and more recently, Heid, *Kreuz-Jerusalem-Kosmos*, 31–48. For the reflection of these traditions in the visual arts, see Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem*, 83–84; Kühnel, "Loca sancta and the Representational Arts: A Reconsideration," in *L'idea di Gerusalemme nella spiritualità cristiana del medioevo*, ed. Walter Brandmüller, Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, Atti e Documenti 12 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2003), 77–87. For the Muslim Siloam tradition connected with the Temple Mount, see Avinoam Shalem, "Bi'r al-Waraq: Legend and Truth; A Note on Medieval Sacred Geography," *PEQ* 127 (1995): 50–61.

The anonymous traveler from Placentia who visited Jerusalem in 567 wrote that near the altar of Abraham [at Golgotha], "there was a niche; if you put your ear to it you hear water and if you throw something into it, you will find the object in the Siloam." There is, he says, "a mile's distance between Siloam and Golgotha, and Siloam is the only living water in Jerusalem."¹¹³ We do not know if this specific tradition was already associated with Golgotha during the fourth century, but we do know that the dedication ceremony of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on September 13, 335 CE¹¹⁴ was described in terms that evoked the consecration of the Temple in the days of King Solomon; and Egeria attests to the presence of King Solomon's ring and the anointment horn of the kings of Judea on Golgotha.¹¹⁵ As noted, Solomon was anointed in the Siloam.

Keeping in mind the conflation of Bethesda and Siloam in the Syriac tradition, as well as the association of Siloam with the Temple, let us go back to the Roman Bethesda sarcophagi. The Bethesda scene occupies the same central location as does the *Dld* in other city-gate sarcophagi, among them the sarcophagus in Verona (Fig. 38). In the Verona exemplar, Christ, flanked by Peter and Paul, stands on the four rivers of paradise, one of which is the Gihon. The Siloam and its source, the Gihon, could well have been evoked by the four rivers. The source of the pool, the Gihon spring, suggests affiliation with the Gihon River of Paradise (Gen. 2:13).¹¹⁶ The rest of the decoration program of the Bethesda sarcophagi provides a persuasive context: Christ makes a triumphal advent in the representation of the Entry into Jerusalem, which, together with the other miracles alludes to the expected salvation.

The unique design of the Bethesda sarcophagi may thus reflect the association of the Healing of the Lame Man with Siloam. Was this tradition known in Rome? A basic difficulty is encountered in trying to make this argument: apart from Ephraem the Syrian, no text clearly juxtaposes the two traditions concerning

113. Ora Limor, *Holy Land Travels: Christian Pilgrims in Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Tzvi, 1998) (in Hebrew), 230; Gustav Klameth, *Die neutestamentlichen Lokaltraditionen Palästinas in der Zeit vor den Kreuzzügen 1*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 5.1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1914), 133–138; Heid, *Kreuz-Jerusalem-Kosmos*, 75.

114. Joshua Schwartz, "The Encaenia of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Temple of Solomon, and the Jews," *TZ* 43 (1987): 265–281, esp. 266–271.

115. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 137; Schwartz, "Encaenia," 273–274; Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem*, 84; Oded Irshai, "The Jerusalem Bishopric and the Jews in the Fourth Century: History and Eschatology," in Levine, *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality*, 204–220, esp. 209.

116. Furthermore, if the water at the center of the sarcophagi represents the Siloam Pool, it may reflect the simile used in 311 by Eusebius and later by others: "those in whom the whole people of Palestine glories, because even in the midst of our land, the Savior of all men arose like a thirst-quenching spring." This appears in the Syriac preface to Eusebius's *Martyrs of Palestine*, composed after December 311. The same metaphor is used later in his Tricennial Oration for Constantine. See Dennis E. Groh, "The Onomasticon of Eusebius and the Rise of Christian Palestine," *Studia Patristica* 18 (1983): 23–32, at 28.

the pool. Nonetheless, the Spanish poet Prudentius, who visited Rome in 402/3, but as far as is known did not go to Jerusalem, writes of the Siloam Pool:

The water is a remedy for diseases; it is emitted with a gush at different times, and the cause of its flowing is unknown. Men call it Siloam; here the Saviour smeared a blind man's eyes with his spittle and bade him wash them in the water of the spring.¹¹⁷

Prudentius mixes up the two places in the opposite directions to Ephrem the Syrian and to the Gospel of John. He does not place the Miracle of the Lame Man in Siloam, but bestows the detail of the gushing water on the Miracle of the Man Born Blind. He is either confusing the latter cure with the Bethesda story or adding the local Siloam siphon system to the story of the blind man.¹¹⁸ This suggests that at the end of the fourth century the pools might have been thought of in Rome as synonymous—either name denoting a pool with a siphon system like the real Siloam.

The fact that the Siloam is the only living water in Jerusalem may partly explain the anomaly of the Bethesda sarcophagi decorative program. The possibility of a short-lived tradition connecting the Healing of the Lame Man with the Siloam Pool may explain the timing of the selection, and the association with the Temple may point to a cause of Roman interest. Another possible reading follows below.

The idea that the Healing of the Lame Man at the Pool of Bethesda signifies a pilgrimage site in Jerusalem has recently been brought to the fore by Katharina Heyden. She suggests that the entire front of the Bethesda sarcophagi represents the sequence of stations along the late antique pilgrimage route from Jericho to Jerusalem.¹¹⁹ Heyden emphasizes the “*Bewegungsrichtung*” signaled by the

117. “Morborum medicina latex, quem spiritus horis / eructat variis fusum ratione latent; / Siloam vocitant, sputis ubi conlita caeca / Lumina Salvator iussit de fonte lavari.” (*Tituli Historiarum*, also called *Dittochaeon* 33). The translation is from Henry J. Thomson, *Prudentius*, 2 vols., LCL (London: Heinemann; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 2:363

118. Although Prudentius could have been influenced by Ireneus's *Adversus Haereses* 2.24.4. See A. Rousseau, *Irénée de Lyon Contre les Hérésies*, vol. 2 (Paris: Cerf, 1982), 242–243. See Carl Mommert, *Der Teich Bethesda zu Jerusalem und das Jerusalem des Pilgers von Bordeaux. Nebst Anhang: Die Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem auf der Mosaikkarte zu Madeba*, Leipzig: Haberland, 1907, 25–26; cf. Renate Pillinger, *Die tituli Historiarum oder Das sogenannte Dittochaeum des Prudentius* (Vienna: Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 86–88.

119. Katharina Heyden, “The Bethesda Sarcophagi: Testimonies to Holy Land Piety in the Western Theodosian Empire,” in *Papers Presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2011*, vol. 7: *Early Christian Iconographies*, ed. Allen Brent and Markus Vincent, *Studia patristica* 59 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 89–96; and Heyden, *Orientierung: Die westliche Christenheit und das Heilige Land in der Antike*, *Jerusalem Theologisches Forum* 28 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2014), 252–273. This interpretation is based on Marcel Simon, “Sur l'origine de sarcophages chrétiens du type Béthesda,” in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 55 (1938): 200–223; Géza de Francovich, “L'arte siriana

Healing of the Two Blind Men, on the front far left. The synoptic gospels share the story of the Healing of a Blind Man on the road from Jericho to Jerusalem; but only Matthew recounts two healings of *two* blind men—one in the Galilee (Matt. 9:27–31) and one on the Jericho road (Matt. 20:29–34).¹²⁰ Heyden presumes that Matthew's version of the Jericho healing is pictured here; she identifies Jericho as the departure point of the pilgrimage going from the east to Jerusalem in the west, and represented from left to right on the sarcophagus front. Based on various pilgrims' itineraries and additional textual sources that describe the sites and the local Jerusalemite liturgy, Heyden identifies the rest of the stops along the way: Bethany, where Christ met Mary, the sister of Lazarus, represented by the kneeling female figure next to Christ (John 11:1–35); the eastern gate of Jerusalem (the Sheep Gate, according to John 5:2), represented by Christ standing under a gabled arch and next to the central column; the Pool of Bethesda, indicated by the Healing of the Lame Man; and finally the Entry into Jerusalem proper.¹²¹

The pilgrimage interpretation takes the weight off of the questions that have been raised regarding the seeming anomalies of the decorative program. If we understand the central composition as comprising two scenes, that is, Christ at the eastern gate and the Healing of the Lame Man at the Pool of Bethesda, the latter no longer takes over the center of the composition. The two scenes represent two neighboring episode-stations; the Healing of the Lame Man is deemphasized as one site in a series of five.¹²² Although the space given to the

e il suo influsso sulla pittura medioevale nell' Oriente e nell' Occidente," *Commentari: Rivista di critica e storia dell'arte* 2 (1951): 3–16, 75–92, 143–152. A similar historical-topographical reading was suggested by Molly Lindner in her interpretation of the decorative program of the twelfth-century left lintel of the main entrance to the Holy Sepulchre: "Topography and Iconography in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem," in *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades, Jerusalem and Haifa, 2–6 July 1987*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992), 81–98.

120. Cf. Mark 10:46–52; Luke 18:35–43 (Luke stages the encounter on the road to Jericho).

121. Heyden, *Orientierung*, 258–259, maintains that the city gate behind the scene of the paralytic actually represents a decorative gabled roof, and suggests that this indicates the church in Bethany. See however the sarcophagus in Arles, *Rep.* III no. 64, which has a similar construction with no relation to the scene.

122. Or six, if the man in the tree who welcomes Christ on his entry into Jerusalem represents Zacchaeus (Luke 19:1–10). At least in the example at the Vatican, however, the young man on the tree does not speak to Christ and most likely represents the followers who went to cut the branches for the welcome into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:8). See Heyden, *Orientierung*, 263–266. To count Christ standing next to a column or at a gate as a separate scene may also be problematic: in John 5:2, the Sheep Gate is merely mentioned as a reference to the location of the pool; and in the itinerary of the anonymous pilgrim from Bordeaux (first half of the fourth century), the east gate merely refers to the direction from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives. See *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 594.5–595.2, in *Itineraria et alia Geographica*, ed. Peter Geyer and Otto Cuntz, CCSL 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), 17.

scene thus becomes narrower, Heyden insists that the special double register composition of the healing scene calls for an additional, typological layer of interpretation, denoting baptism. The rectangular frame decorated with a wave-like pattern at the center of the scene thus not only represents the Bethesda Pool, but also has a role in the symbolic meaning of the sequence. Read from the left, the blind men, Mary of Bethany, and the lame man in bed are all asking for help and expect salvation from Christ; the upper register of the Bethesda scene, where the healed man takes up his bed and steps in the same direction as Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, denotes a change. Through the agency of water, that is, baptism, the healed man is finally able to follow Christ on the road to the heavenly Jerusalem.¹²³

It is true that when the Bethesda sarcophagi were produced, in the last decades of the fourth century, there was a flow of western pilgrims to Jerusalem; this could explain, to some extent, the selected repertoire of scenes.¹²⁴ At the same time, why would someone in Rome select a decorative program that depicted a pilgrimage route in Palestine, rather than one that would correspond to the local sacred agents—that is, Roman holy places and martyrs? The question is relevant especially in relation to the larger group of city-gate sarcophagi, if we assume that the members of this group reflect not only a shared taste for lavish decoration but also some shared ideology beyond the general relevance of the decorative program for funerary art. Earlier in this and the preceding chapter we saw that the *Dld* and Red Sea sarcophagi shared the function of boosting the collective identity of the Christians in Rome by evoking the memory of local martyrs and foundational narratives. Fourth-century Roman visual formulae constructed local Christian cultural memory in relation to the believers' cities of residence. Why, then, would this third subgroup promote the sacred stations in, and the local liturgy of, Palestine?

Heyden's pilgrimage schema in fact opens up a second possibility—that is, that the Healing scene at the center of the decorative program should actually be read as the Healing of the Paralytic that took place in Capernaum. The alternative key is the identification of the first scene on the left.

Crucial for Heyden's historical-topographical reading of the decorative program is the identification of the kneeling woman on the left as the sister of Lazarus. If one takes into account the visual sources rather than the

123. Heyden, *Orientierung*, 268–273.

124. For Christian pilgrimage to Palestine in the fourth century, see Pierre Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient: Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, Cerf, 1985; 2d ed. 2004; repr. Paris: CNRS/Éditions, 2011); and Maraval, "The Earliest Phase of Christian Pilgrimage in the Near East (before the 7th Century)," *DOP* 56 (2002): 63–74.

textual ones, this identification, when Lazarus is *not* included in the picture, is problematic.¹²⁵ On early Christian sarcophagi, as well as in contemporary representations in other media, Martha and/or Mary are always rendered next to their brother, who is seen wrapped in a shroud. The independent kneeling figure placed next to Christ could also be the Canaanite/Syrophenician woman (Matt. 15:21–28; Mark 7:24–30) or, more likely because she is touching the hem of Christ's garment, the *Haemorrhissa*, the woman with the flow of blood (Matt. 9:20–22; Mark 5:21–43; Luke 8:40–56).¹²⁶ These two women encountered Christ in Tyre/Sidon and the Galilee respectively; thus, neither would fit Heyden's interpretation.

What if, however, the healing scene at the center of the sarcophagi were meant to represent the healing narrative in Mark 2:1–12 (cf. Matt. 9:1–7; Luke 5:18–26), which takes place in the house of Peter in Capernaum?¹²⁷ If we insist on reading a topographical sequence, the healing of the two blind men could then be depicting the scene according to Matthew 9:27–30, which took place in the Galilee, shortly after Christ healed the paralytic and the woman with the flow of blood (Matt. 9:20–22; cf. Mark 5:25–34; Luke 8:40–56). According to Mark (Mark 8:22; cf. Luke 5:18–26), the Healing of the Blind Man in the Galilee took place in Bethsaida, a town not far from Capernaum, which, according to John 1:44, was the hometown of Peter, Andrew, and Phillip. In short, apart from that of the Entry into Jerusalem, all the scenes decorating the front of the Bethesda sarcophagi could be read as a sequence of scenes that took place in the area of the Sea of Galilee. The pilgrim Egeria visited Capernaum in the early eighties of the fourth century, reporting in her itinerary that “in Capernaum the house of *the prince of the apostles* has been made into a church, with its original walls still standing. It is where the Lord healed the paralytic.”¹²⁸ If the rectangular

125. Heyden, *Orientierung*, 257, supports the identification of Mary, Lazarus's sister, with textual sources related to the site dedicated to her meeting with Christ in Bethany; she suggests that the visual interpretation is not based on Roman iconography of the scene but, rather, on a local Palestinian traditions that concentrates on the adoration of Christ by Lazarus's sisters. She quotes Egeria, who recalls that on the Saturday before Easter, “at about half a mile before you get to the Lazarium from Jerusalem there is a church by the road. . . . They have one hymn and an antiphon, and a reading from the Gospel about Lazarus' sister meeting the Lord”; Egeria, *Itinerarium* 29.4; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 131.

126. For the identification of the kneeling woman as the woman with the flow of blood, see the recent study by Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, “The Healing of the Haemorrhaging Woman on Fourth-Century Sarcophagi in Rome,” in *The Woman with the Blood Flow (Mark 5:24–34): Narrative, Iconic, and Anthropological Spaces*, ed. Barbara Baert (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 109–142.

127. It is clear from the literary context that this is the house of Simon (Peter) and Andrew (Mark 1:29; cf. Matt. 9:1).

128. “In Capernaum autem ex domo apostolorum principis ecclesia facta est, qui parietes usque hodie ita stant, sicut fuerunt. Ibi paraliticum Dominus curavit,” CCSL 175, 98; English translation is from Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 194–196; the italics appear in the translation. It should be noted that this section on Egeria's visit to the Galilee is included in the twelfth-century *Book on the Holy Places* written

frame decorated with the wave-like pattern represents water, could it be the Sea of Galilee?

There are at least two reasons to favor this alternative reading over that of the pilgrimage route in Judea. First, the kneeling woman is identifiable, in accordance with similar representations, as the woman with the flow of blood. Second, the events in Capernaum/Bethsaida could have been selected in order to emphasize the Palestinian sacred sites that are associated with Peter. Such an emphasis on Peter, the local Roman holy martyr, would then correspond to the artistic ideology of the other sarcophagi types composing the city-gate group. The decorative program would thus associate the miracles of Christ that had taken place in Peter's house, town, and environs, with the salvation promised by the Second Advent of Christ implied by the Entry into Jerusalem.

The original, eastern provenance of Peter mattered to the Roman church. Like the spoils of the Temple and the relic of the True Cross that had been translated from Jerusalem to Rome (see chapter 1), Peter concretized the connection between the two ends of the vector. Like the relics, Peter gained new Roman identity. But unlike the translated objects, Peter's martyrdom had taken place in Rome itself, and after his death he was honored as the preeminent local martyr. When Damasus dedicated the Basilica Apostolorum, built over the house of Peter and Paul in the Via Appia, he placed a memorial epitaph that mentioned the eastern origin of Peter (and Paul):

Here you should know that the saints dwelt at one time / You who seek
the names of both Peter and Paul. / We freely acknowledge that the East
sent them as disciples . . . / Rome has merited to claim them as citizens.¹²⁹

by Peter the Deacon. See Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*. A recent study suggests, on the basis of both textual and archaeological evidence, that the church in Capernaum Egeria describes was actually a house church (*domus ecclesiae*). During the fifth century, an octagonal memorial structure was built over the site, and in the sixth century this was turned into a church with an apse. See Benjamin Y. Arubas and Rina Talgam, "Jews, Christians and 'Minim': Who Really Built and Used the Synagogue at Capernaum; A Stirring Appraisal," in *Knowledge and Wisdom: Archaeological and Historical Essays in Honour of Leah Di Segni*, ed. Giovanni C. Bottini, L. Daniel Chrupcała, and Joseph Patrich (Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2014), 237–274.

129. Damasus, *Epigram* 20: "Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes/ nomina quisq(ue) petri pariter pauliq(ue) requiris / discipulos oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur; . . . / Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives" in *Epigrammata Damasiana recensuit et adnotavit Antonius Ferrua* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1942), 144; trans Marianne Sághy, "Pope Damasus and the Beginnings of Roman Hagiography," in *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period; Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for His 60th Birthday*, ed. Ottó Gecser et al. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 1–15, on 10. The full poem and the Basilica Apostolorum are discussed in chapter 3 below.

So far, I have suggested two alternative readings to explain the extraordinary choice of scene and design in the Bethesda sarcophagi. If the scene at the center of the Bethesda sarcophagi represents the Healing of the Lame Man in Jerusalem, perhaps it was selected because of an interpretive conflation with the Siloam Pool, which was considered to be the only living water in Jerusalem and was associated with the Temple. If this decorative program is meant to suggest pilgrimage sites in Palestine, it is more likely that these were pilgrimage sites in the Galilee associated with Peter's hometown, Capernaum and the neighboring town of Bethsaida. There is, however, a third alternative as well.

The Latin version of John 5:2 gives the site of the miracle as Bethsaida.¹³⁰ This may reflect a misidentification, which associated the Healing of the Lame Man in Jerusalem with the Healing of the Paralytic in Capernaum. The two healing narratives, the one in Capernaum and the other, on the Sabbath, at the Bethesda Pool in Jerusalem, were often read together by theologians. Both were used as reference to the Resurrection and to evoke the faith of the baptized in the forgiveness of sins.¹³¹

I would like to suggest that what we see here is a merging of artistic scenes not unlike, and perhaps related to, the theological conflation of the Gospel accounts. What if the small four columns at the back of the central healing scene and the rectangular frame with the wave-like pattern were designed to represent the Pool of Bethesda, juxtaposed with the scene that took place in Capernaum/Bethsaida near the Sea of Galilee? What is certain, is the provenance of the Bethesda sarcophagi and the affiliation of the group to the city-gate sarcophagi. We have seen that the decorative programs of the city-gate sarcophagi group type carry local Roman significance. If the decorative program of the Bethesda sarcophagi was meant to carry local significance rather than to evoke the Palestinian pilgrimage context, then it could subsume Peter's hometown in the Galilee to his new hometown in Rome.

In summary, the resurrection significance of the Healing scene correlates with the rest of the decorative program and the funerary context. Adding reference to the only living waters in Jerusalem, through allusion to the siphon system of the Siloam, expands the salvation repertoire. The selection of the central scene and its exceptional design within the program suggest an additional layer of meaning, one that is appropriate to Roman eagerness to promote its local Christian significance. Thus, the representation of Peter's "eastern" roots

130. John 5:2 Vulgate: "Est autem Hierosolymis super Probatica piscina quae cognominatur hebraice Bethsaida quinque porticus habens."

131. See Martine Dulaey, "Les paralytiques des Évangiles dans l'interprétation patristique: Du texte à l'image," *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques* 52 (2006): 287–328.

may be the reason for including the series of healing miracles while conflating the separate miracles that took place at Bethesda and in Capernaum.

All in all, this chapter has shown that the dynamics of *loca sancta* traditions in Jerusalem and the Galilee could have influenced the design of Christian iconography produced outside Palestine as early as the second half of the fourth century. Clearly, this phenomenon is more easily demonstrable in relation to the visual formulae produced in Italy from the sixth century onward, where we see it in conjunction with evidence coming from the Holy Land in the shape of pilgrimage art traveling west.¹³² However, it seems possible that even in the late fourth century, at the time when efforts were being made in Rome to create local holy sites of memory, the creators were attentive to and stimulated by the development of the holy sites and their cults in Jerusalem/Palestine.

132. For studies on the visual impact of the *loca sancta* on the Christian iconography represented in the art of the Holy Land, see Andre Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza-Bobbio)* (Paris: Klicksiek, 1958); Josef Engemann, "Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F. J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn," *JAC* 16 (1973): 5–27; Kurt Weitzmann, "Loca sancta and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *DOP* 28 (1974): 31–55. Bianca Kühnel, in "Loca sancta," has expanded the geographical and artistic borders of the impact, showing how Syro-Palestinian visual schemes associated with the *loca sancta* contributed to medieval iconography of New Testament scenes. See further Noga-Banai, "Das Kreuz auf dem Ölberg, 141–154; and Noga-Banai, "Brass Cross in Munich," 9–23.

Rome's Loca Sancta

THIS CHAPTER DEALS WITH MEMORY MAKING IN ROME. IT BRINGS TO the fore the visual strategies that enacted the Christian identity of the city. Its focus is on the creation of holy sites, attractive to pilgrims, that are comparable in their significance to those in Jerusalem—that is, they are touched by past sacred events or sacred bodies, or both. Within the flow of the book, this chapter maps the *reasons* for the change of attitude toward Jerusalem in Rome that is explored in chapter 4. The main argument here is that once the locally connected holy sites projected into the urban space, especially the local bonding of the sites related to Peter and Paul, it was possible to include Jerusalem in the Roman decorative programs. The discussion will concentrate on the dynamic involved in the commemoration of sacred spaces in Rome, from the architecture of the holy sites to portable objects related to them. I begin with the construction of the Basilica Apostolorum; I then explore the efforts of Pope Damasus to promote the cult of the Roman martyrs and map related holy sites—a project that may be compared with contemporary efforts by Cyril of Jerusalem. I next elaborate on the rebuilding of S. Paolo fuori le mura (St. Paul Outside the Walls) and define some Roman portable art as after-effect of that accomplishment. I end this discussion by comparing a fifth-century reliquary made in Rome with a reliquary produced decades later in the Holy Land, which attests to the success of Damasus's efforts to turn Rome into a city with *loca sancta*, a suitable location for the “Seat of Peter” and center of governance of the “universal” church.

BASILICA APOSTOLORUM

Basilica Apostolorum was built on the Via Appia over a third-century shrine marking the place where, according to a local tradition going back to the second century, Peter and Paul had lived together. The church was located across the road from the palace, the circus, and the mausoleum of Maximian, and was dedicated to the apostles by Constantine before 330.¹ The simultaneous

1. Hans Georg Thümmel, *Die Memorien für Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Die archäologischen Denkmäler und die literarische Tradition* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 73–95; Anna Maria Nieddu, *La Basilica Apostolorum sulla via Appia e l'area cimiteriale circostante*, Monumenti di Antichità 19 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2009). For the possibility that the church was built by Maximian, see Jan-Willem Drijvers, “Eusebius’ *Vita Constantini* and the Construction of the Image of

presence of Peter and Paul in Rome is not mentioned in the Book of Acts, but it is recounted in the narrative of the *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*, an apocryphal source composed in the fifth or the sixth century, likely using earlier material.²

An epigram placed in the basilica by Damasus, a bishop of the city of Rome (366–384), testifies to the existence of that tradition at an earlier stage:

You should know that holy men once dwelt here,
 Whoever you are who seek at the same time the names of Peter and Paul.
 The East sent its apostles, a fact we freely acknowledge.
 By virtue of their martyrdom—having followed Christ through the stars
 they reached the heavenly asylum and the realms of the righteous—
 Rome has earned the right to claim them as her own citizens.
 These things Damasus wished to relate in your praise, O new stars.³

Maxentius,” in *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, ed. Hagit Amirav and Bas Ter Haar Romeny (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 11–27, esp. 23–26. Hugo Brandenburg rejects the idea that Maximian was responsible for the erection of the church, and supports the view that the basilica on the Via Appia deliberately confronted Maximian’s complex, which included a dynastic mausoleum, on the other side of the road. See Hugo Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert: Der Beginn der abendländischen Kirchenbaukunst* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013), 64–71.

2. The Latin version of this text, *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, as well as the Greek (called there the *Acts of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*), end by relating that the bodies of Peter and Paul were removed to the Appian Road at the third milestone and remained there for one year and seven months before being translated to the Vatican and to the Ostian Road, respectively. On the document’s use of earlier material, see the introduction to the *New Testament Apocrypha, II: Writings Related to the Apostles, Apocalypses and Related Subjects*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, English translation of the 5th German ed. (1989), by Robert M. Wilson (Cambridge, UK: James Clark, 1992). For another complete translation of and bibliography on both versions, see David L. Eastman, *The Ancient Martyrdom Accounts of Peter and Paul*, Writings from the Greco-Roman World 39 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 221–315. For second- and third-century sources recalling the presence of the two teachers and their martyrdoms in Rome, see Thümmel, *Die Memorien für Petrus und Paulus in Rom*, 3–8; Matthew C. Baldwin, *Whose Acts of Peter? Text and Historical Context of the Actus Vercellenses* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); George E. Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter: Apostolic Discourse and Papal Authority in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 13–25.

3. Damasus, *Epig.* 20: “Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes / nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris / discipulos Oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur; / sanguinis ob meritum Christumque per astra secuti / aetherios petiere sinus regnaque piorum / Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives. / Haec Damasus vestras referat nova sidera laudes.” Antonio Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana recensuit et adnotavit*, *Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane* 2 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1942), 142; English translation by Dennis Trout, *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 121–22. Cf. the translation by Marianne Sághy, “Pope Damasus and the Beginnings of Roman Hagiography,” in *Promoting the Saints, Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period: Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for His 60th Birthday*, ed. Ottó Gecser et al. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), 1–15 (10); eadem, “The Bishop of Rome and the Martyrs,” in *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity*, ed. Geoffrey D. Dunn (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015), 37–55, esp. 53–54; Ursula Reutter, *Damasus, Bischof von Rom (366–384)*, STAC 55

Whether Damasus meant to identify the site on the Via Appia as the place where the apostles had once lived or the place of their temporary burial together, the Basilica Apostolorum was a place where both were commemorated. Built to memorialize a holy site that was *not* erected over sacred tombs, the church was somewhat exceptional in fourth-century Rome. It was closer in its essence to the churches that were being built in Palestine. It was particularly akin to the sites where Christ and his disciples had lived, visited, or passed through during his public ministry in the Galilee and Judea. The commemoration of these Palestinian sites took place within a generation or two after Constantine had built the great basilicae in and around Jerusalem, and before churches in honor of Mary began to be constructed throughout the land.⁴ During the second half of the fourth century at least two churches, said to have been built over houses of the apostles near the Sea of Galilee, attracted pilgrims. I have already noted Egeria's report on the church on the site of Peter's house in Capernaum; she mentions a similar church at the house of James and John in Tiberias:

In Tiberias there is now a church on the spot where once stood the house of the apostles James and John. . . . in Capernaum the house of *the prince of the apostles* has been made into a church, with its original walls still standing. It is where the Lord healed the paralytic.⁵

Like the churches in Palestine that commemorated biblical events, the Basilica Apostolorum may have appealed to pilgrims because it framed and embraced a memory of the time when the saints had lived and ministered in Rome. We are told by Socrates Scholasticus, in his *History of the Church*, of a monk from Egypt who escorted Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria on his visit to Rome in 339:

There was another excellent man among the monks, named Ammonius, who had so little interest in secular matters that when he went to Rome

(Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 90–91; see 494 for the possibility that by “*hic*,” Damasus was referring to Rome. See also David L. Eastman, *Paul the Martyr: The Cult of the Apostle in the Latin West* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 71–114, esp. 100–109.

4. Churches dedicated to Mary, and to events in which she is the main protagonist, were built from the fifth century onward, especially following the Council of Chalcedon (451). See Rina Avner, “The Dome of the Rock in Light of the Development of Concentric Martyria in Jerusalem: Architecture and Architectural Iconography,” *Muqarnas* 27 (2011): 31–50; see also Ora Limor, “Mary in Jerusalem: An Imaginary Map,” in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 11–22; and see below the section on Santa Maria Maggiore.

5. “In Tyberyadis in eo loco nunc ecclesia est, in qua domus fuit apostolorum Iacobi et Iohannis . . . In Capernaum autem ex domo apostolorum principis ecclesia facta est, qui parietes usque hodie ita stant, sicut fuerunt. Ibi paraliticum Dominus curavit. CCSL 175, 98–99.” English translation is from John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land: Newly Translated with Supporting Documents and Notes* (Jerusalem, Warminster: Ariel / Aris & Phillips, 1981), 194–196; the italics appear in the translation; see chapter 2, n. 128).

with Athanasius, he chose to investigate none of the magnificent works of that city, contenting himself with examining the Cathedral of Peter and Paul only.

Socrates's description, which uses a singular form for a shrine dedicated to the two saints, must denote the Basilica Apostolorum.⁶

The church on the Appian Road certainly attracted pilgrims, but graves dated back to the fourth century that were found in and around the basilica attest that it was also used as a burial site.⁷ One may be surprised to find that even though the church had *not* been built over the tombs of the apostles, the Christian citizens of Rome thought of the site as an intercessory station, capable of effecting salvation at the End of Days. Yet, the mediatory quality was already acknowledged and visually declared by the architectural plan (Fig. 39). The Basilica Apostolorum was an ambulatory U-shaped type basilica, of the kind built by Constantine over the tombs of martyrs in the cemetery outside the city wall on the Via Labicana (SS. Marcellinus and Pietro).⁸ The Basilica Apostolorum was smaller in scale than either the basilica on the Via Labicana or the one built several years later on the Via Nomentana, dedicated to S. Agnes; but the architectural type suggests that it was connected not only visually but also ritually with the cult of martyrs conducted in the cemetery churches. Damasus's epigram supports the celestial function of the two apostles by recalling the sacrifice by which they obtained their Roman identity as well as their place in heaven.⁹

Damasus's epigram reflects a determination to turn the apostles' legendary place of residence into an integral part of the formal history of the Roman Christian community under the supervision of the bishop. By Damasus's time, the three apostolic churches were already long-standing fixtures in the Roman landscape: St. Peter's, built over Peter's tomb, next to Nero's Hippodrome, where,

6. Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 4.23; English translation in *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates: A History of the Church in Seven Books* (London: Bohn, 1853), 240; Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms*, 71.

7. Coin finds and many of the inscriptions on the tomb slabs found at the site are dated to the 330s and 340s. See Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms*, 64–71.

8. Most recently on U-shaped basilicae, see Olof Brandt, "The Archaeology of Roman Ecclesial Architecture and the Study of Early Christian Liturgy," in *Studia Patristica* 71 (2014): 21–52, esp. 33–40.

9. Cf. Damasus's Epig. 4. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, 93–94; Trout, *Damasus of Rome*, 86; Rudolf Brändle, "Petrus und Paulus als nova sidera," *TZ* 48 (1992): 207–217; Ellena Zocca, "Pietro e Paolo 'Nova Sidera': Costruzione della memoria e fondazione apostolica a Roma fra I e IV secolo," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 75 (2009): 227–249; Marianne Sághy, "The Bishop of Rome and the Martyrs," in *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity*, ed. Geoffrey D. Dunn (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015), 37–55, esp. 54.

according to the tradition, Peter had been crucified; the Constantinian basilica built over Paul's tomb near the Tiber, where it was said he had been beheaded; and the Basilica Apostolorum, built over the sacred spot where the two were celebrated together. The three site-specific *memoriae* were equally venerated; Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, wrote a hymn dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul, illustrating the three roads that led to the commemorative sites of the two martyrs in Rome.¹⁰

By indicating that the apostles had been sent from the East—*discipulos Oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur*—Damasus captures primacy in more than one sense.¹¹ Peter and Paul brought with them to Rome the sense of familiarity with the events and sites associated with the generation of Christ himself. They contributed sacred legitimacy to Rome by coming from the place “where it all began.” Peter headed the disciples in Jerusalem after Christ's Ascension to heaven (Acts 1–4), and Paul testified in Jerusalem to the Roman authorities in the city, followed by a promise that his mission would continue in Rome itself: “And the night following the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer: for as you have testified concerning me at Jerusalem, so must you bear witness also at Rome” (Acts 23:11). Both had their glorious moments in Jerusalem, but both were heroically martyred in their new home(land). This combination of local roots and connection with the primal history was a perfect basis for assurance of eternal salvation for the Roman Christians and (later) for justifying Roman political dominance and primacy in terms of church governance; both aspects are reflected in Damasus's epigram.

The three sites in Rome built around the narrative of Peter and Paul were comparable to the biblical sites in Palestine, a foremost sacred quality unfamiliar to—and not transferable to—the New Rome in the East, Constantinople.¹² The signed epigram, together with Damasus's orders to the presbyters, bishops, and monasteries to sing psalms day and night in all the churches, affirm that Damasus could not and would not let such foundational sites be out of episcopal care and control.¹³

10. Ambrose, *Hymn* 12:25–28: “Tantae per urbis ambitum / stipata tendunt agmina; / trinis celebrator uiis / festum sacrorum martyrum.” See *Ambroise de Milan: Hymnes*, ed. Jacques Fontaine (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 515–546, esp. 542–543; the quotation is on page 525. Note also Gaudentius of Brescia, *Tractatus* 20.9–10, ed. Ambrosius Glueck, CSEL 68 (Vienna: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1936), 183; Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms*, 71.

11. Reutter, *Damasus*, 493–494; Eastman, *Paul the Martyr*, 101–105.

12. For the earliest translation of Christian relics to Constantinople, see above, chapter 1, n. 53.

13. *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 2 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1886), 1:213.

The advantage of Rome over other Christian centers was made clear in the decree against heretics issued by the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius on February 27, 380:

It is our desire that all the various nations which are subject to our clemency and moderation, should continue to the profession of that religion which was delivered to the Romans by the divine Apostle Peter, as it has been preserved by faithful tradition and which is now professed by the Pontiff Damasus and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the apostolic teaching and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe in the one Deity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, in equal majesty and in a holy Trinity.¹⁴

The priority of Rome was confirmed in the decree resulting from the church council that took place in Rome in 382. The so-called *Decretum Damasi*, among other things, claimed for Rome the first place among the three primary church centers (Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch); the degree of their importance was grounded in their connection with Peter. The apostolic primacy of Peter was based on the words of Christ himself (Matt. 16:18–19):

And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.¹⁵

14. *CTh.* 16.1.2: “Imppp. Gratianus, Valentinianus et Theodosius aaa. edictum ad populum urbis Constantinopolitanae. Cunctos populos, quos clementiae nostrae regit temperamentum, in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque ad nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat quamque pontificem Damasum sequi claret et Petrum Alexandriae episcopum virum apostolicae sanctitatis, hoc est, ut secundum apostolicam disciplinam evangelicamque doctrinam patris et filii et spiritus sancti unam deitatem sub parili maiestate et sub pia trinitate credamus.” English translation from Henry Bettenson, ed., *Documents of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1943), 31.

15. The first three (and perhaps part of the fourth) of the five sections of the so-called *Decretum Damasi*, also known as the *Decretum Gelasianum*, are attributed to Damasus. The declaration of primacy is found in the third section. See “Incipit concilium urbis Romae sub Damaso Papa de explanatione fidei,” in *Das Decretum gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1912), 29–33; Reutter, *Damasus*, 468–513, and there the Latin with German translation. For an English translation, see William A. Jurgens, *The Faith of the Early Fathers: A Source-Book of Theological and Historical Passages from the Christian Writings of the Pre-Nicene and Nicene Eras*, selected and translated by W. A. Jurgens. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1970), 406–407. See also Charles Pietri, *Roma Cristiana: Recherches sur l’Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1976), 1:866–872, and 881–884; Gianluca Pilara and Massimiliano Ghilardi, *La città di Roma nel pontificato di Damaso (366–384): Vicende storiche e aspetti archeologici* (Rome: Aracne, 2010), 87–88.

The identification of Rome as the seat of Peter was based on its status as the place of the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul. The Alexandrian church was named as second in importance because it had been founded by Mark, Peter's disciple, who had been sent by Peter to lead that city. Antioch, where Peter had lived and to which he had appointed Ignatius as bishop, and where the disciples were first called Christians,¹⁶ was named as third. The churches founded by other apostles, as for instance Jerusalem, or with no apostolic foundation, such as Constantinople, went unnamed. This disregard of Jerusalem and Constantinople indicates that both cities challenged and concerned the Roman church; but as I elaborated in the introduction, the conflict with the contested capital city in the East is documented by contemporary sources, while that with Jerusalem and its holy sites is almost completely neglected.¹⁷

As I will show next, the Rome of the home and tombs of Peter and Paul was doing everything in its power to become in essence as sacred as Jerusalem, and to assert its predominance in the Christian world.

DAMASUS OF ROME AND CYRIL OF JERUSALEM: A COMPARATIVE NOTE

As far as the textual sources attest, Damasus seemingly ignored Jerusalem. He never referred to the churches built in Palestine over the sacred sites, nor did he mention Jerusalem in his sermons, letters, or epigrams. The epigram he wrote for the Basilica Apostolorum, quoted earlier, uses the abstract "East," rather than "Jerusalem." However, rhetoric links language, including silence, with power at a particular moment.¹⁸ This unspoken name could have been an intentional rhetorical strategy to leave Jerusalem and its holy places outside the local Christian collective memory, while constructing a canonical historical narrative of the Roman experience.

There is no textual evidence for direct contact between Damasus and residents of Palestine, Cyril, the contemporary bishop of Jerusalem, included. A different situation existed between Damasus and Bishop Ambrose of Milan (374–397),

16. Acts 11:26.

17. The "long preface" of the canons of Nicaea (*Praefatio longa de Nicaeno concilio necnon de ecclesia Romana der Interpretatio quae dicitur Isidori*, ed. Cuthbert Hamilton Turner, [= EOMIA] I/ 1.2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1899), 155–160), composed between 419 and 451, contains parts of the 382 decree, with later additions. After Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, the bishopric of Jerusalem (founded by James) and Ephesus (by John the Evangelist), were not listed as cathedrae, but designated as *honorabilis*. See Reutter, *Damasus*, 482–490.

18. Although she deals with gender issues, the study of Cheryl Glenn, *Unspoken: A Rhetoric of Silence* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004), is especially helpful for understanding silence itself as a rhetorical art and realizing its power.

for example; we have both direct and indirect sources that tell us about their agreements and disagreements over church politics and theological matters.¹⁹ Even the close contact Damasus had with Jerome in the last years of his life was prior to the latter's migration to Palestine. The dearth of written sources is probably one of the reasons comparative studies on the Christianization of Rome and Jerusalem during the episcopates of Damasus and Cyril have not been pursued.²⁰ The terms of Damasus (366–384) and Cyril (350–386) overlapped—both experienced the attempt of Julian the Apostate to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem, discussed above, and both were in office when the Theodosian dynasty came to power²¹; but they have been studied separately in terms of significant issues with which both were dealing contemporaneously: their contributions to their respective city's processes of Christianization; their involvement with and (to some extent) degree of toleration of the Arian heresy; their involvement with local opponents, such as the Ursian party in Rome or the metropolitan bishop in Caesarea.²² The two bishops were also dealt with separately in the two preceding chapters, where I examined the effect of Jerusalem on the visual culture of Rome, during a period more or less parallel to both their periods of office. In the wake of the foregoing discussion of the innovative compositions produced in Rome during the second half of the fourth century, the material translations from Jerusalem, and the familiarity of Jerusalemite traditions in Rome, it seems suitable now to bring these two figures together. By bringing them together, I do not intend merely to compare their biographies, but rather to distinguish the different ways in which they acted to Christianize “their” respective urban spaces. It would have been easier to mount such an investigation for the fifth century, involving Pope Sixtus III (432–440) or Leo

19. For the contact between these two bishops, see Neil B. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan; Church and Court in a Christian Capital*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 22 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 152, 280, 288; Reutter, *Damasus*, 17–21. A recent comparative study is that of Markus Löh, *Monumenta sanctorum: Rom und Mailand als Zentren des frühen Christentums; Märtyrerkult und Kirchenbau unter den Bischöfen Damasus und Ambrosius* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2013). The two cities are also brought together in *Rom und Mailand in der Spätantike: Repräsentationen städtischer Räume in Literatur, Architektur, und Kunst*, ed. Therese Fuhrer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012).

20. For Damasus's contacts in Alexandria and Antioch, see Reutter, *Damasus*, 15–17; For his contact with Jerome, see Andrew Cain, *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

21. Cyril most likely began his first term as bishop in 350. Due to Christological and political disputes with Acacius of Caesarea (the “Arian controversy”), Cyril, the orthodox (Nicene) bishop, was forced from office between 357 and 359 and 360 and 361. When Valens became emperor in 367, Cyril was removed from office for the last time. In 378, he was called back. See Edward Yarnold, S.J., *Cyril of Jerusalem*, Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2000), 3–7.

22. Pietri, *Roma Cristiana*, 1:407–427; Zeev Rubin, “The See of Caesarea in Conflict with Jerusalem from Nicaea (325) to Chalcedon (451),” in *Caesarea Maritima: Retrospective after Two Millennia*, ed. Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holm (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 559–574.

I (440–461) and Bishop Juvenal of Jerusalem (ca. 422–451), because we have textual evidence of correspondence between them.²³ Nonetheless, and notwithstanding the lack of a definite literary connection, I insist on the importance of comparing these two earlier bishops, who prepared the foundations on which their fifth-century successors could further develop the visibility of their cities' Christian essence and topography. The comparison of the activities of these two bishops can serve as a platform for the ensuing discussion of the change in attitude toward Jerusalem that took place in Rome's visual culture at the beginning of the fifth century.

We should take into account that Damasus in Rome and Cyril in Jerusalem were each familiar with the buildings erected by Constantine in their respective cities, and both saw fit to incorporate these earlier structures into local networks of Christian pilgrimage sites and cult stations. Damasus and Cyril were neither the first nor the last to have sought to expand the power of their local churches and Christian communities, or to capitalize on their city's sacred exclusivity in a bid to increase their own authority. It is enough to mention in this context the earlier bishops Macarius of Jerusalem (312–335), and Liberius of Rome (352–366), along with the later ones, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Sixtus III or Leo I of Rome. The shaping of the Roman tombs as local sacred public spaces with global aspirations, and the structuring of the Jerusalemite historical sites as a net of *loca sancta*, however, are developments associated mainly with Damasus and Cyril. These two bishops deepened the Christian roots of their cities and helped to transform their cities with glorious (pagan/imperial or biblical) pasts into contemporary centers ruled by Christian time and space.²⁴ Unfortunately, it is impossible to compare the innovative compositions in Rome, discussed here at length, with parallel artistic activity in Jerusalem in the second half of the fourth century during the episcopacy of Cyril; unlike Rome, there are no traces of monumental decoration or portable art left in Jerusalem from that time. However, it is possible to use textual material to describe the determination of the two bishops to map and celebrate local sacred elements. I will do this under four headings, using as points of departure the monumental site-specific metrical epigrams composed by Damasus for the martyr's shrines in Rome, and Cyril's letter to Constantius II, along with Egeria's pilgrimage itinerary, in reference to the holy sites of Jerusalem.

23. Ernst Honigman, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," *DOP* 5 (1950): 211–279, esp. 233–261.

24. On the concept of communities locating their beginnings, see Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), esp. 101–110.

Sacred Stations and Interactive Topography: The epigrams that identified the martyrs buried in the Roman cemeteries were written by Damasus and carved by Furius Dionysius Filocalus on marble blocks (Pl. 10). The same Filocalus was the master calligrapher who was responsible for the well-known illustrated codex calendar of 354.²⁵ In addition to the identifications, the epigrams included brief details of the martyrs' origins, sacrifices, characters, and/or acts. One poem that included substantial information was dedicated by Damasus to Marcellinus and Peter at their memorial on the Via Labicana (*ad duas lauros*):

Marcellinus, (the story of) your grave and likewise Peter's
 An executioner told to me, Damasus, when I was a boy:
 A savage butcher (he said) had given him these orders—
 That he straightaway sever your necks in a wild thicket
 So that no one could recognize your tomb.
 You (he said) had cheerfully dug your graves with your own hands,
 Which afterwards had simply lain hidden below a cavern.
 Thereafter Lucilla, alerted through your kindness,
 Was pleased to set your most holy limbs in this place.²⁶

Damasus emphasized his personal role in the discovery and identification of the martyrs' relics. It is important to recall that prior to Damasus, most tombs of martyrs were not identified by name, even when a memorial church was built over them.²⁷ The only exceptions are the churches built over the individual

25. *Chronographus anni CCCCLIII* (Theodor Mommsen, ed., *Chronica Minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, vol. 1, MGH.AA, vol. 9, Berlin: Weidmann, 1892, pp. 13–148). Apart from the principal festivals of the year, the calendar contains lists of consuls and urban prefects, as well as bishops of the city of Rome and martyrs. See Michele R. Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Elsner, "Inventing Christian Rome," 79–81; Marianne Sághy, "Renovatio memoriae: Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome," in *Rome in der Spätantike: Historische Erinnerung im städtischen Raum*, ed. Ralf Behrwald and Christian Witschel (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2012), 251–267; and Trout, *Damasus of Rome*, 47–52.

26. Epigram 28: "Marcelline tuos, pariter Petre, nosce triumphos. / Percussor retulit Damaso mihi cum puer essem, / Haec tibi carnificem rabidum mandata dedisse, / Sentibus in mediis vestra ut tunc colla secaret, / Nec tumulum vestrum quisquam cognoscere posset; / Vos alacres vestris manibus mundasse sepulcra, / Candidulo occulte postquam jacuistis in antro, / Postea commonitam vestra pietate Lucillam, / Hic placuisse magis sanctissima condere membra." Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, 161; English translation in Trout, *Damasus of Rome*, 132–134. Additional English translation by Sághy, "Renovatio memoriae: Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome," 254.

27. Jean Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers: Recherches sur les catacombes romaines* (Rome: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1987); Joseph Alchermes, "Cura pro mortuis and cultus martyrum: Commemoration in Rome from the Second through the Sixth Century" (PhD diss., New York University, 1989); Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms*, 54–59.

shrines of Peter and Paul and possibly of Lawrence.²⁸ Martyrs' lists were compiled before the episcopate of Damasus but the correlation between these lists and the sites of burial was first determined and documented by him.²⁹ Rome's topography became a spatial list of the martyrs. Each martyr or group of martyrs was treated individually; but the epigrams were recognizable then, as today, as a unifying set of memorial monuments, authenticating the attribution of the site via the bishop's signature (Fig. 42).³⁰ The signed marble blocks were more or less similar in shape, rhetoric, and metric style. Like signposts, with Filocalus's hand-carvings, they composed a set, marking a series of sacred stations. These visual site-specific texts embodied Damasus's strategy of turning the martyrs into patrons of churches, and Rome into a unified *communio sanctorum*, with local and collective sacred Christian memory accessible through the Church.³¹

We have no trace of comparable monumental signs attributable to Cyril in Jerusalem, but that does not mean he did not cherish the landscape of local history; he followed a different strategy to connect the Christian faithful with the local foundational narratives by integrating his community liturgically with the local sites. His commemorative method was also stational, except that it was marked by footsteps and spoken words rather than monumental marble

28. On the fourth-century church of S. Lorenzo f.l.m., see Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms*, 91–93; Olof Brandt, "San Lorenzo outside the Walls: The Complicated Relationship between Structures and Written Sources," in *The Fifth Century in Rome: Art, Liturgy, Patronage*, ed. Ivan Foletti and Manuela Gianandrea (Rome: Viella, 2017), 105–120.

29. For the distribution of the epigrams, see Guyon, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers*, 412, fig. 242; John R. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 148–155, fig. 26, reproduced in Löx, *Monumenta sanctorum*, figs. 3, 5.

30. When the Frankish courtier and lay abbot Einhard (ca. 775–840), known primarily as Charlemagne's biographer, planned to retire from the court, he sent an envoy to Rome to bring back relics of martyrs to the church he had built in Seligenstadt. Describing the search for the relics, Einhard mentions that his trusted envoy saw a marble panel that contained "an inscription clearly indicating (*evidens indicium dabat*) which martyr's limbs lay there," before he took the relics. See *Translatio et miracula sanctorum Marcellini et Petri auctore Einhardo*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH, *Scriptores in folio* 15.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1887), 238–264, on 241. For a full English translation, see Paul E. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard*, *Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures* 3 (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1998), 69–130, on 74. See Galit Noga-Banai, "Einhard's Arch: Validating a Relic by Visual Means," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 40 (2013): 27–41.

31. On site-specific art, see Miwon Kwon, *One Place after Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004). For repeated components in spatio-temporal images, see Nancy D. Munn, "The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (1992): 93–123, esp. 101–102; Patricia Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). Most recently, Erik Thunø has compared Damasus's series of monumental inscriptions with that of monumental dedicatory inscriptions in apse mosaics, a similar network composed by the popes of early medieval Rome in order to construct a *communio sanctorum* within the walls of the city. See Erik Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome: Time, Network, and Repetition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 172–205.

epitaphs.³² Perhaps there were signs with the name of the sites, displayed somehow so that pilgrims would recognize the spots, but the pilgrim Egeria, who visited Jerusalem during Cyril's last years in office, does not note any. She does, especially through her voyage in the desert, mention guides, usually monks, who take the pilgrims from one station to another.³³ In Jerusalem, however, it was the local spiritual guide—that is, the bishop—who was directing the correlation between the sites and the biblical text. Quoting the instructive information given by Cyril, Egeria described time and again in her itinerary, how all was executed *apte diei et loco*, according to the time and place.³⁴ She narrates the processions led by Cyril during Easter week and marks the spots where Cyril taught the participants, catechumens as well as the faithful; read the corresponding biblical text; and performed the Mass. On the third day of Holy week, for instance, she reports that

late at night, after the dismissal in the martyrrium, when they have gone to the Anastasis and had their second dismissal there, everyone goes out, late though it is, to the church which is on Mount Eleona. When they are inside the church, the bishop enters the cave where the Lord used to teach his disciples, and, taking the Gospel book, he stands and reads the passage from the Gospel according to Matthew where the Lord says, "See that no man lead you astray."³⁵

The site enables a reproduction of the past, in which, for a short time and on that spot, Cyril becomes Christ and the crowd of the faithful, disciples. This social mnemonic pattern, repeated in specific locations on certain days of the year, constantly turns the past events into relevant historical narratives.³⁶

Although we have no direct records of Damasus leading processions between the sacred sites in Rome, the set of signed epigrams placed by him

32. For the development of stationary liturgy in Jerusalem from the fourth century onward, see John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stationary Liturgy*, OrChrAn 228 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute Press, 1987; repr. 2002).

33. See for instance, Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 1.2; 7.2; 10.8.

34. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*; Ora Limor, "Reading Sacred Space: Egeria, Paula, and the Christian Holy Land," in *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Yitzhak Hen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 1–15.

35. Egeria, *Itiner.* 33: "quod nocte sera, posteaquam missa facta fuerit ad Martyrium et itum fuerit ad Anastase et denuo in Anastase missa facta fuerit, omnes illa hora noctu uadent in ecclesia, quae est in monte Eleona. In qua ecclesia cum uentum fuerit, intrat episcopus intra spelunca, in qua spelunca solebat Dominus docere discipulos, et accipit codicem euangelii, et stans ipse episcopus leget uerba Domini, quae scripta sunt in euangelio in cata Mattheo, id est ubi dicit: 'uidete, ne quis uos seducat.'" English translation is from Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 133–134.

36. Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 11–36.

suggests that the cult of the “very special dead” included elaborated dedication ceremonies and jubilant celebrations.³⁷ The Spanish poet Prudentius (348–ca. 413) describes, around the turn of the century, a procession led by the bishop between St. Peter and S. Paolo f.l.m. on June 29, the joint anniversary of the martyrdoms (*dies natalis*) of the two apostles.³⁸ Most scholars agree that indications of stational liturgy in Rome began only in the fifth century; but by leaving recognizable signboards in the martyrs’ shrines, Damasus created a network of stations from which one could take a ride through a time tunnel and reconnect with the local past, with the generation of the community’s founders who had been ready and willing to sacrifice their lives for Christ.³⁹ Moreover, by making the invisible martyrs into a series of readable local histories, outside and around the city walls, Damasus made a spatial change of foci in Rome. By opening access to the foundation myth and local traditions, he enabled active participation in the sacred history—in much the same way as did Cyril when he led his flock through the specific sites commemorating the Passion of Christ in Holy Week.

Both bishops were obviously concerned with the continuity and discontinuity between past, present, and future. The epigrams brought the past into the here and now and made sure this spatio-temporal track endured, with Damasus as immortalized intercessor.⁴⁰ When the faithful viewers stood in front of a named

37. Löx, *Monumenta sanctorum*, 157. For the very special dead, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 69–85.

38. *Peristephanon* 12; Michael J. Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The “Liber Peristephanon” of Prudentius*, *Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 167–187. See the discussion in the section below on St. Paul Outside the Walls.

39. See Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 119–121, 147–151, with a map (p. 273) of the titular churches in Rome that functioned as stations in the fourth and fifth centuries; Victor Saxer, “L’utilisation par la liturgie de l’espace urbain et suburbain: L’exemple de Rome dans l’Antiquité et le Haut Moyen Âge,” in *Actes du XIe Congrès international d’archéologie chrétienne: Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste 21–28 septembre 1986*, ed. Noël Duval (Rome: École française de Rome, 1989), 917–1033; Dennis Trout, “Damasus and the Invention of Early Christian Rome,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33, no. 3 (2003): 517–536; Gitte Lønstrup Dal Santo, “Rite of Passage: On Ceremonial Movements and Vicarious Memories (Fourth Century CE),” in *The Moving City: Processions, Passages, and Promenades in Ancient Rome*, ed. Ida Ostenberg, Simon Malmberg, and Jonas Bjørnebye (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), chap. 12. On liturgy and topography in Rome, see Steffen Diefenbach, *Römische Erinnerungsräume: Heiligenmemoria und kollektive Identitäten im Rom des 3. bis 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 408–487; and Michele R. Salzman, “Leo’s Liturgical Topography: Contestations for Space in Fifth-Century Rome,” *JRS* 103 (2013): 1–25.

40. On bringing the past into the present by traces of memory preserved and monitored in the sub-conscious, see Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 358–65; Asher Koriati, “Metamemory: The Feeling of Knowing and Its Vagaries,” in *Advances in Psychological Science*, ed. Michel Sabourin, Fergus Craik, and Michèle Robert, 2 vols. (Hove, UK: Psychology Press, 1998), 2:461–469; Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 55–81.

site, they could imagine themselves standing in their “ancestors’” footsteps.⁴¹ The monumental texts identifying the martyrs constructed a local living history.⁴² Similarly, in Jerusalem, when Cyril combined the biblical text with the site, as he did while teaching in the cave of the Eleona, pilgrims and local Christians could see themselves as the disciples listening to Christ, learning directly from him the eschatological mystery of his return (Matt. 24–25). Thus, during the episcopates of Damasus and Cyril, Rome and Jerusalem each developed local routes of sacred time, which both expressed and tapped into the charisma and sacred power of the city. Rome’s route followed the resting places of the martyrs, encompassing the city walls; Jerusalem’s circulated between Golgotha, the Holy Sepulchre, and the Mount of Olives. Each stop along the way was repeatedly charged by the faithful with new social life. Each site was adored, venerated independently but within the serial contexts of landscape and calendar. The two bishops provided their communities with spatial frameworks and ideological topography.⁴³ These frameworks tied the contemporary communities to the local past and systematically formed their cultural memory.

Expansion of the Sacred: As they cultivated their respective cults of holy sites, Damasus and Cyril expanded the existing topography with myths and legends. They were very creative. Damasus added thirteen martyrs to the existing lists of martyrs.⁴⁴ He preserved his discovery or rediscovery of martyrs in stone, as for instance in the epigram for Bishop Eutychius:

In the sleep-bearing night, dreams keep my mind stirring: / he reveals
the hiding place which has been / holding the body of an innocent man. /
A search is begun; he is found; his cult is established.⁴⁵

41. Keith H. Basso, “‘Speaking with Names’: Language and Landscape among the Western Apache,” *Cultural Anthropology* 3, no. 2 (1988): 99–130, esp. 112. Nancy Munn, “Cultural Anthropology of Time,” 113, explains: “By taking the ancestor’s position, a viewer transforms an ancestral “there-then” (what was for the ancestor, of course, a “here-now” of travel) into his/her [their] own “here-now.”

42. See Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1941), translated by Lewis A. Coseriu as, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–1992); Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7–25.

43. Diefenbach, *Römische Erinnerungsräume*, 297.

44. Alan Thacker, “Rome of the Martyrs: Saints, Cults and Relics, Fourth to Seventh Centuries,” in *Roma Felix: Formations and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 13–49; Marianne Sághy, “Scinditur in partes populus: Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome,” *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000): 273–287.

45. *Epig.* 21: “Nocte soporifera turbant insomniam mentem / ostendit laterba insontis quae membra teneret / quaeritur, inventus colitur, fovet, omnia praestat.” Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, 146; English translation: Marianne Sághy, “Martyr Cult and Collective Identity in Fourth-Century Rome,” in *Identity and Alterity in Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, ed. Ana Marinkovic and Trpimir Vedriš (Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2010), 17–35, 4.

And the *Liber Pontificalis* indeed credits him: “Multa corpora sanctorum requisivit et invenit quorum etiam versibus declaravit.”⁴⁶ The (re)discovery of the relics of local martyrs was not exclusive to Damasus. In 386, Ambrose of Milan dedicated the Basilica Apostolorum (S. Nazaro) in the cemetery outside that city’s walls, and relics of SS. Andrew, Thomas, and John the Evangelist were brought to Milan from elsewhere.⁴⁷ Soon afterward Ambrose was asked by the local congregation to consecrate with relics the new basilica he had built in the *coemeterium ad martyres*, not far from Porta Vercelliana. Ambrose’s answer was “*faciam si martyrurum reliquias invenero*.”⁴⁸ Sure enough, with God’s help, as he himself reported in a letter to his sister, he thereupon found, in the shrine of SS. Felix and Nabor, the relics of two local saints: Protasius and Gervasius. The relics were unearthed and translated in procession, accompanied by the singing of psalms, to the new church, the Basilica Ambrosiana (also known as Basilica Martyrum), where they were placed beneath the altar.

In Palestine, Eusebius of Caesarea (314–339/40) had compiled the list of martyrs in the Holy Land—appropriating some from abroad.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, it was Cyril who assembled the liturgical landscape in Jerusalem; the verb *inventio* used by the *Liber Pontificalis* to describe the activity of Damasus also seems to

46. Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, 212. For Damasus’s enthusiasm for the martyr cult as a way to gain legitimacy and to erase rivalry to his own position, see Demacopoulos, *Invention of Peter*, 34–38, with earlier bibliography.

47. McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, 229–231. These relics were very probably kept in the silver casket from S. Nazaro. See Verana Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen von San Nazaro in Mailand*, Reihe Klassische Archäologie 13 (Bonn: Habelt, 1981), 163; on the discovery of the casket, see 5–9. Galit Noga-Banai, *The Trophies of the Martyrs: An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 33–35, 130–131; Löx, *Monumenta sanctorum*, 94–105.

48. *Epig.* 22.1–2; *Sancti Ambrosii Opera, Pars X: Epistulae et Acta*, ed. Michaela Zelzer, CSEL 82.3 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1982), 127–128; Löx, *Monumenta sanctorum*, 105–115; 158–163. Ernst Dassmann, “Ambrosius und die Märtyrer,” *JAC* 18 (1975): 53; McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, 209–219; Hugo Brandenburg, “Altar und Grab: Zu einem Problem des Märtyrerkultes im 4. und 5. Jh.,” in *Martyrium in Multidisciplinary Perspective: Memorial Louis Reekmans*, ed. Mathij Lamberigts and Peter van Deun (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1995), 83–84.

49. On *The Martyrs of Palestine*, see Oded Irshai, “The Dark Side of the Moon: Eusebius of Caesarea between Theological Polemics and Struggles for Prestige,” *Cathedra* 122 (2006): 63–98 (in Hebrew). For an abridged version in English, see Irshai, “Fourth-Century Christian Palestinian Politics: A Glimpse at Eusebius of Caesarea’s Local Political Career and Its *Nachleben* in Christian Memory,” in *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical, and Theological Issues*, ed. Sabrina Inowlocki and Claudio Zamagni (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 25–38; James Corke-Webster, “Author and Authority: Literary Representations of Moral Authority in Eusebius of Caesarea’s *The Martyrs of Palestine*,” in *Christian Martyrdom in Late Antiquity (300–450 AD): History and Discourse, Tradition and Religious Identity*, ed. Peter Gemeinhardt and Johan Leemans (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 51–78; James Corke-Webster, “A Literary Historian: Eusebius of Caesarea and the Martyrs of Lyons and Palestine,” *Studia Patristica* 66 (2013): 191–202.

fit Cyril's originality. He should most likely be credited with the authorship of the narrative account of the discovery of the True Cross. Moreover, he did no less than recruit the local skies for the benefit of the city and its church—as we have seen in his letter to Constantius II, in which he describes the Apparition of the Cross.⁵⁰

Surpassing Damasus, who offered a ring of salvation around the walls of Rome by recruiting the former citizens, now in heaven, as local mediators between the earthly citizens and the heavenly court, Cyril draws in words the effective Jerusalemite axis of salvation—stretching directly between Golgotha and the Mount of Olives, between the places of Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection to the place of his Ascension and Return at the End of Days.⁵¹

Ownership of the Sacred: The ring consecrated around the walls of Rome showed forth the patron-ambassadors Rome had in heaven.⁵² Damasus's signed epigrams authenticated the tombs of the martyrs—that is, the ambassadors' home bases. As such, and in accordance with Roman law, the tombs were considered inviolate and the relics were not to be disturbed.⁵³ There is no record of Damasus ever distributing relics elsewhere.

That is quite remarkable in comparison to the practice of his partial contemporary, Ambrose of Milan.⁵⁴ When Ambrose found the relics of Gervasius and Protasius in 386 in the shrine of SS. Felix and Nabor, he translated them immediately to the basilica of Fausta; we have seen that the next day he brought them to the Basilica Ambrosiana, where he placed them beneath the altar.⁵⁵ He may in fact have initiated the practice of the deposition of relics under altars.⁵⁶ In 393, Ambrose found the relics of Vitalis and Agricola in a Jewish cemetery in Bologna. On his way back to Milan, he deposited a fragment of these relics,

50. See the section "Emergence of the Elevated Christogram in Roman Art," in chapter 2 for discussion of these two Jerusalem legends and bibliography.

51. Note that the Temple Mount is altogether absent from Cyril's vision. See Oded Irshai, "Cyril of Jerusalem: The Apparition of the Cross and the Jews," in *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 85–104.

52. For the martyrs as patrons, see Brown, *Cult of the Saints*.

53. The Roman law against removing the relics was promulgated by Constantius II, issued in Milan in 357 and again in Constantinople in 386: *Cod. Theod.* 9.17.4 and 9.17.7.

54. Löx, *Monumenta sanctorum*, 166–170, compares this aspect of the activity of Ambrose and Damasus.

55. *Epig.* 22.1; 13 CSEL 82.3. 127–128. See above, n. 47. See also, Brandenburg, "Altar und Grab," 83–84.

56. Cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 31.1; Peter Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 90–91; Sigrid Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel des Paulinus von Nola: Kommunikation und soziale Kontakte zwischen christlichen Intellektuellen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 427–443.

perhaps a contact relic (*Brandeum*), under the altar of a church in Florence.⁵⁷ He also sent relics abroad, for instance, to Rouen.⁵⁸ If indeed the first instance of the deposition of relics under an altar was Ambrose's action in 386, then this took place only a couple of years after Damasus's death.

We can only imagine what Damasus's reaction to such dispersion of "his" relics would have been; he frequently emphasizes the inviolability of the site where the relics were found. In the epigram for the Crypt of the Popes in the Catacomb of Callixtus, Damasus uses this principle to convey the added value of the site:

Here collected, lies, if you ask, a throng of the pious.
 Revered tombs hold the bodies of the saints;
 the palace of heaven has taken up their lofty spirits for itself.
 Here the comrades of Xystus (Sixtus) who carry trophies from
 the enemy;
 here a company of nobles who guard the altars of Christ.
 Here is buried a bishop who lived in long peace;
 here the holy confessors whom Greece sent;
 here young men and boys, old men and chaste grandsons,
 for whom it was more pleasing to keep virginal modesty.
 Here, I confess, I Damasus wished to set my limbs
 But I feared to disturb the holy ashes of the pious.⁵⁹

His modest reservation after repeating the word "here" (*hic*) six times suggests that, though he was concerned about the disturbance of the dead, he was more concerned with two other things: (1) the stability of the place of entombment and insurance of the eternal presence of its past; and (2) the linkage of the site with the authority of the bishop.⁶⁰ At the time when the translation of relics

57. Paulinus of Milan, *Vita Ambrosii*, 29; For additional sources and the possibility that Ambrose in Bologna found only the relics of Agricola, see Löx, *Monumenta sanctorum*, 163–164. On contact relics, see below, n. 61.

58. Victricius, a bishop of Rouen, received a shipment of relics from Ambrose in 396. See Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum*, 2.1–5, ed. Jacques Mulders and Roland Demeulenaere, CCSL 64 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), 53–93, esp. 71–72; Gillian Clark, "Victricius of Rouen: Praising the Saints," *J ECS* 7 (1999): 365–399.

59. *Epig.* 16: "Hic congesta iacet quaeris is turba piorum, / corpora sanctorum retinent ueneranda sepulcra, / sublimes animas rapuit sibi regia caeli. / Hic comites Xysti, portant qui ex hoste tropaea, / hic numerus procerum, seruat qui altaria Christi, / hic positus, longa uixit qui in pace sacerdos; / hic confessores sancti, quos Graecia misit; / hic iuuenes puerique, senes castique nepotes, / quis mage uirgineum placuit retinere pudorem. / Hic, fateor, Damasus uolui mea condere membra, / sed cineres timui sanctos uexare piorum." Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, 120; English translation: Trout, *Damasus of Rome*, 114; additional translation by Ságghy, "Bishop of Rome and the Martyrs," 51.

60. Ságghy, "Martyr Cult and Collective Identity"; Diefenbach, *Römische Erinnerungsräume*, 323–324; Löx, *Monumenta sanctorum*, 167.

began in other locations, soon to become a widespread phenomenon, the relics of the martyrs in Rome did not circulate. The natural resources that history had contributed to Rome were not to be dispersed.⁶¹ Damasus treated the portable relics of the martyrs as if they were heavy or, better yet, monumental, and the tombs themselves as *loca sancta*. Thus, he renovated the Crypt of the Popes as he had other sites, preparing it for the benefit of the pilgrims.⁶²

The portability of the sacred was not a problem for Cyril, whose episcopal territory was composed of holy sites related to biblical events rather than relics per se. There was, however, one incident in which the bishop's intolerance of the distribution of relics comes to light. Again, we can turn to Egeria, who describes the exhibition of the relic of the True Cross during the Easter week liturgy:

As long as the holy Wood is on the table, the bishop sits with his hands resting on either end of it and holds it down, and the deacons round him keep watch over it. They guard it like this because what happens now is that all the people, catechumens as well as faithful, come up one by one to the table. They stoop down over it, kiss the wood, and move on. But on one occasion (I don't know when) one of them bit off a piece of the holy Wood and stole it away, and for this reason the deacons stand round and keep watch in case anyone dares to do the same again.⁶³

Like Damasus, Cyril made sure to demonstrate his control over the local sacred resources. It was not only the possibility of theft—that is, taking a piece of the cross without the authorization of the bishop—that disturbed him; it was the potential harm to this powerful site and its foundational significance as well. In his sermons to the catechumens Cyril emphasizes that Jerusalem is the source for the relics of the cross throughout the world; and that the candidates now before him are present at Golgotha, the unique source where the event of the crucifixion had taken place:

No, his Passion was real, for he was really crucified; we are not ashamed of the fact. He was crucified; we do not deny it, we boast of it. If I do deny it now, I am given the lie by Golgotha here, beside which we are now

61. Bernhard Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebäude* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1965), 23. It was, however, permitted to circulate contact relics (*Brandea*), i.e., textiles that had been in direct contact with the original relic. See Kötting, "Reliquienverehrung, ihre Entstehung und ihre Formen," *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift* 67 (1958): 327–334; Pietri, *Roma christiana*, 1:39, 67, 518, and 606; Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of Martyrs*, 14–16.

62. Antonio Baruffa, *The Catacombs of St. Callixtus: History, Archaeology, Faith* (Vatican City: L.E.V., 1992); Marianne Saghy, "Martyr Cult and Collective Identity," 27–28.

63. Egeria, *Itiner.*, 37; Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 137.

gathered. I am given the lie by the wood of the cross, whose fragments have since been distributed all round the world.⁶⁴

Taking Credit for the Sacred: The two bishops make clear in different ways that it is their valuable presence, not to say episcopal control, that enables the direct connection to the holy, and thus also to heaven. Damasus's epigrammatic signature "Have faith, through Damasus, in the power of Christ's glory" reflects the bishop's role as mediator.⁶⁵ Damasus was an unabashed copywriter: "I beg you to favor the prayers of Damasus, o glorious martyr"; or, "These altars Damasus heaps high with gifts, / In humble prayer and in admiration of the worth of an exceptional martyr."⁶⁶

Cyril constantly and cleverly emphasizes his mediating position by holding onto the relic of the cross with two hands or by pointing out, both to the catechumens and in his regular sermons to the faithful, the importance of being "on the spot," in Jerusalem. There are benefits that accrue to those who can pray where the disciples prayed and witness the miracles that take place in Jerusalem. The prayers led by him at the holy sites, as Cyril explains to the emperor in the narration of the vision of the cross, have special power:

Accordingly we citizens of Jerusalem, who saw this extraordinary wonder with our own eyes, have paid due worship and thanksgiving to God the universal King and to God's Only-begotten Son and shall continue to do so, and we have prayed at length in the holy places for your blessed reign and shall likewise continue to do so. . . . In accordance, Emperor most favoured by God, with the testimony of the prophets and the words of Christ contained in the holy Gospels, this miracle has been accomplished now and will be accomplished again more fully.⁶⁷

Comparison of the two bishops shows that their strategies were not so far apart. Both actively took part in the Christianization of their cities by boosting local rituals tied to Christian sites, and by turning these sites to the advantage of their cities and communities; both also took the opportunity to entrench their own authority by consolidating their mediating roles vis-à-vis these sites.

64. Cyril, Catech. 13.4; cf. *Cat.* 4.10, 10.19. See Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 151, 100, and 127, respectively.

65. *Epig.* 8: "*Credite per Damasum, possit quid Gloria Christi.*" Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, 103; translation by Ságghy, "Martyr Cult and Collective Identity," 23

66. *Epig.* 37: "*Ut Damasi precibus faveas, precor, inclyta martyr*"; *Epig.* 33: "*Haec Damasus cumulate supplex altaria donis / martyris egregii suspiciens meritum.*" Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana*, 176, 167; translation by Ságghy, "Martyr Cult and Collective Identity," 23–24; Damasus's name appeared in the inscriptions at least thirty-seven times. See Trout, *Damasus of Rome*, 54.

67. Cyril of Jerusalem, *ad. Const.* 5–6. English translation: Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 69–70.

Although Damasus never mentioned earthly Jerusalem, he did do everything in his power to turn Rome into a sacred city and target of pilgrimage, like (Cyril's) Jerusalem. Jerusalem was the "undercover" stimulator; this conception is reflected in the contemporary visual formulae detected in the first two chapters. Whether Damasus acted with Constantinople in view or indeed any other important city vying for the *primat*, or whether his main concern was the long-standing rivalry with the supporters of his opponent Ursinus, by strengthening his episcopal power as mediator, controller, and agent of the sacred sites, Damasus turned Rome into a holy city, through holy sites associated with the apostles as well as with the local martyrs. He gave Rome a sacred mythical topography of no lesser degree than that of Jerusalem. As we shall see next, Damasus's efforts culminated, soon after his death, in the rebuilding of S. Paolo f.l.m.; and this construction, I believe, determined the way Rome pictured itself as a Christian center and consequently shaped its attitude toward Jerusalem.

SAN PAOLO FUORI LE MURA

In 386, the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, the same emperors who had decreed the superiority of Peter's cathedra in the *Edict against Heretics* in 380 (see above, p. 104), together with emperor Arcadius, addressed a decree to the city *praefect* of Rome, the Roman Senate, and the people of Rome expressing concern about the inadequacy of the existing shrine over the tomb of the apostle Paul on the Via Ostiense. The Constantinian church was too small to properly conduct rituals and to accommodate the large number of pilgrims, so the emperors ordered the building of a new basilica in the place of the old.⁶⁸ They wanted the new church to be large and lavish, and even ordered that the street leading to it be widened to allow for many visitors. S. Paolo f.l.m., built at the end of the fourth century, was indeed magnificent (Fig. 40). The imperial founders' support was reflected, first, in its enormous proportions: the basilica was more than 128 meters long, its dimensions are traceable today in the nineteenth-century church that was rebuilt according to the Theodosian plan after the original was destroyed by fire in 1823. Second, the architectural details, such as columns, bases, and capitals, were cut, carved, and sculpted especially for the church; the

68. *Ep. 3, Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum = Collectio Avellana*, ed. Otto Günther, CSEL 35.1 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1895), 46–47; Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae* 5 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1977), 93–164; Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms*, 121; For the imperial inauguration of the church, see Paolo Liverani, "San Paolo Fuori le mura e le visite degli imperatori," in *San Paolo in Vaticano: La figura e la parola dell'Apostolo delle Genti nelle raccolte pontificie*, ed. Umberto Utrio (Todi: Tau Editrice, 2009), 91–97.

builders did not incorporate spolia from other constructions, the usual practice in fourth-century Rome.⁶⁹ In a poem written in about 400, shortly after the church was completed, for the joint *dies natalis* of Peter and Paul on June 29, Prudentius describes the building:

The splendour of the place is princely, for our good Emperor dedicated this seat and decorated its whole extent with great wealth. He laid plates on the beams so as to make all the light within golden like the sun's radiance at its rising, and supported the gold-panelled ceiling on pillars of Parian marble set out there in four rows. Then he covered the curves of the arches with splendid glass of different hues, like meadows that are bright with flowers in the spring.⁷⁰

The political and religious initiative to rebuild S. Paolo may be seen in many respects as a climax of Damasus's efforts to construct Rome as the chief holy city. Although he died in 384, before the emperors promulgated the decree, it fits very well with Damasus's efforts to establish a local Roman identification with the unified cult of Peter and Paul, as recorded in the decree of the church council in Rome in 382.⁷¹

The plan of the Theodosian basilica expressed a local interest beyond the imperial intentions; these may be grasped when the rebuilt S. Paolo's is compared to the earlier *memoriae* built in Rome under imperial patronage during the fourth century. The architectural plan did not add a new representative to the group of U-shaped ambulatory-type basilicas built in cemeteries outside the walls of the city. Rather, it was based on that of the basilica of St. Peter; that is, it called for a five-aisle basilica with a transept (Fig. 41).⁷² Unlike

69. See Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms*, 124, with extensive bibliography.

70. "Princeps bonus has sacravit arces lustique magnis ambitum talentis. Bratteolas trabibus sublevit, ut omnis aurulenta lux esset intus, ceu iubar sub ortu. Subdidit et Parias fulvis laquearibus columnas, distinguit illic quas quaternus ordo. tum camiros hyalo insigni varie cucurrit arcus: sic prata vernis floribus resident." See Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon* 12.47–54. English translation by H. J. Thomson, *Prudentius*, 2 vols., LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 1962), 2:327; another translation may be found in Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs*, 178. Hugo Brandenburg, "Die Basilica S. Paolo fuori le mura, der Apostel-Hymnus des Prudentius (Peristeph. XII) und die architektonische Ausstattung des Baues," in *Ecclesiae Urbis*, Atti del Congresso Internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma [IV–X secolo], Roma, 4–10 settembre 2000, ed. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2002), 1525–1578. On the dating of the construction of the church, see Paolo Liverani, "La cronologia della seconda basilica di S. Paolo fuori le mura," in *Scavi e scoperte recenti nelle chiese di Roma*, ed. Hugo Brandenburg and Federico Guidobaldi (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2012), 107–123.

71. For the so-called *Decretum Damasi*, see above, n. 15.

72. Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 87–89; Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 42–43.

St. Peter's Basilica, however, the Theodosian basilica was oriented (for the first time in Rome) to the east.⁷³

The *renovatio* of the plan of St. Peter's Basilica through the building of S. Paolo during the last decade of the fourth century may have been part of the so-called Theodosian Renaissance. The term defines the flourishing artistic patronage and particular style of the last quarter of the fourth century and the first quarter of the fifth, in various centers of the empire, including Rome.⁷⁴ The city-gate sarcophagi and the later renditions of the Passion sarcophagi, discussed in chapter 2, are examples of this stylistic trend. The use of the well-known St. Peter's as an architectural model may thus be connected to the general creative atmosphere of this era. Nonetheless, the architectural plan of S. Paolo f.l.m. was selected from a wider repertoire of Constantinian plans, so the selection of St. Peter's as a model must have been done with particular intention.

The building of S. Paolo f.l.m. was connected with the increasing power of the church in Rome during the Theodosian period.⁷⁵ With the support of the emperors, paganism was finally legally suppressed in 395. There were more and more churches inside the city itself; and as more politicians and patricians ruling the city converted to Christianity, the Church as an institution became stronger and richer. Richard Krautheimer finds it "only natural" that the Constantinian

73. Apparently, the earlier Constantinian memorial basilica to St. Paul had been oriented to the west, as were most churches at that time in Rome. See Giorgio Filippi, "La tomba dell'Apostolo Paolo: Nuovi dati dai recenti scavi; Notizie storiche e archeologiche," in *Paulo Apostolo Martyri: Lapostolo San Paolo nella storia, nell'arte e nell'archeologia*, ed. Ottavio Bucarelli and Martín M. Morales (Rome: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2011), 97–117, esp. 107–108. Cf. the review of this book and interpretation of the findings by Hugo Brandenburg in *RQ* 107 (2012): 137–144, esp. 139–142; Sible de Blaauw, "Liturgia e architettura nella basilica di San Paolo fuori le mura tra antichità e medioevo," in Utro, *San Paolo in Vaticano*, 67–80. Sahner is certain that "as the first east-oriented church in Rome, S. Paolo enabled the faithful to worship in the direction of the Holy Land, *conversi ad Dominum*, thereby acknowledging the locus of Christ's death, resurrection, and eventual return." See Christian C. Sahner, "Hierusalem in Laterano: Translation of Sacred Space in Fifth-Century Rome," in *New Jerusalem: Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces*, ed. Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), 103–130, on 105.

74. On the so-called Theodosian style, see Johannes Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1941); Kollwitz, "Probleme der theodosianischen Kunst Roms," *RivAC* 39 (1963): 191–233; Beat Brenk, "Zwei Reliefs des späten 4. Jahrhunderts," *Acta ad Archeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 4 (1969): 51–60; Hugo Brandenburg, "La scultura a Milano nel IV e V secolo," in *Milano: Una capitale da Ambrogio ai Carolingi*, ed. Carlo Bertelli, *Il Millennio ambrosiano* 1 (Milan: Electa, 1987), 80–129; Alborino, *Das Silberkästchen von San Nazaro*, 156–158; Bente Kiilerich, *Late Fourth-Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts*, Odense University Classical Studies 18 (Copenhagen: Odense University Press, 1993).

75. Although recent studies suggest that it would be wrong to see the pope as the only authority in Rome, and that secular authority continued to predominate at least to the seventh or even the eighth centuries. See Mark Humphries, "From Emperor to Pope? Ceremonial, Space, and Authority in Rome from Constantine to Gregory the Great," in *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in a Christian Capital: Rome, 300–900*, ed. Kate Cooper and Julia Hillner (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2007), 21–58.

basilica dedicated to the “Teacher of the Heathen, *doctor gentium*, and thus by implication the champion in the fight against the pagans lingering among the Roman aristocracy,” was replaced with “a basilica emulating St. Peter’s.”⁷⁶ Building S. Paolo according to a plan that was exclusive to St. Peter’s gave monumental shape to their harmonious and spiritual Roman brotherhood (*Concordia apostolorum*), marking their sites of martyrdom and tombs with a similar significance. In the poem mentioned earlier, Prudentius describes the sanctity of the Tiber through its proximity to the holy tombs of the two apostles:

The marshland of Tiber, washed by the near-by river, knows that its turf was hallowed by two victories. . . . Tiber separates the bones of the two and both its banks are consecrated as it flows between the hallowed tombs. The quarter on the right bank took Peter into its charge and keeps him in a golden dwelling, where is the grey of olive-trees and the sound of a stream. . . . Elsewhere, the Ostian Road keeps the memorial church of Paul, where the river grazes the land on its left bank. . . . There you have two dowers of the faith, the gift of the Father supreme, which he has given to the city of the toga to reverence.⁷⁷

Indeed, in this poem, through the rebuilding of the church, Paul finally receives the full citizenship Damasus described with so much passion.⁷⁸

The spiritual brotherhood of Peter and Paul was also reflected in the decorative program of the remodeled church. Its nave was decorated sometime in the first half of the fifth century. The south side displayed representations of Old Testament scenes, beginning with the creation of the world and including a number of scenes representing biblical brotherhood.⁷⁹ The north wall had a cycle of the life of Paul, ending with the scene of the Meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome. Although it is badly damaged, a watercolor representation of this scene,

76. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, 42.

77. “Scit Tiberina palus, quae flumine lambitur propinquo, / binis dicatum caespitem tropaeis, / . . . dividit ossa dum Tybris sacer ex utraque ripa, / inter sacrata dum fluit sepulcra. / dextra Petrum regio tectis tenet aureis receptum / canens oliva, murmurans fluente / . . . parte alia titulum Pauli via servat Ostiensis, / qua stringit amnis caespitem sinistrum. / . . . ecce duas fidei summo Patre conferente dotes, / urbi colendas quas dedit togatae.” See Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon* 12.7–8, 29–32, 45–46, and 55–56, in the translation by Thomson, *Prudentius*, 2:323–327. See Michael Roberts, “Rome Personified, Rome Epitomized: Representations of Rome in the Poetry of the Early Fifth Century,” *American Journal of Philology* 122, no. 4 (2001): 533–565, esp. 558–560; Galit Noga-Banai, “From a Cabin in the Sky to the Eternal City,” *JAC* 53 (2010): 140–152, esp. 149–51.

78. See the epigram placed by Damasus in the Basilica Apostolorum, at the beginning of this chapter.

79. Cain and Abel, Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau, Joseph and his brothers. See Herbert L. Kessler, “The Meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome: An Emblematic Narrative of Spiritual Brotherhood,” *DOP* 41 (1987), 265–275, at 268. An icon of the Meeting of Peter and Paul helps Markus Bockmuehl to illustrate the gap between history and reception in modern studies of the New Testament. See Markus Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word: Refocusing New Testament Study* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 121–135.

made circa 1635, shows the two apostles at center, bending toward each other and composing a sort of triangle shape, as three upright witnesses watch the dramatic moment (Fig. 43). The scene is not recorded in the New Testament, and the Book of Acts does not mention the presence of Peter in Rome. It ends with the arrival of Paul in Rome and his preaching to the Jewish community there. The story of the meeting is told in the *Passion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul*, which, as we recall, likely used earlier material.⁸⁰ Located in the nave of the church at the end of Paul's cycle, the image of the meeting "conveys a tenet of church history: that the Christian empire was established primarily through the combined efforts of the two chief apostles."⁸¹ The original image may have been close in style to a more or less contemporary *Concordia apostolorum* painted on a wall in the catacombs of Vigna Chiaraviglio; this is located not far from the Basilica Apostolorum (Pl. 11).⁸² In that painting, palm trees at the background divide the space into niches, the Meeting of the Apostles is depicted in the center, while the witnesses stand on either side. Peter, on the left, is welcoming Paul by resting his hands on Paul's shoulders; this may imply that he was in Rome prior to Paul's arrival. In most of the later representations of the scene, the two figures bend toward each other and Peter's hands are above those of Paul. Very much like the architectural plan selected for the rebuilding of the church on Via Ostiense, the picture of Peter hugging Paul shows, on the one hand, Paul as equal to Peter; on the other hand, it places him second to Peter.

I will return to the decoration program of the nave of S. Paolo's, but for now, let us go back to the rebuilding of the church. Earlier in the chapter, reading Damasus's epigram for the Basilica Apostolorum, we noted his efforts to unite the cults of the two martyrs as part of his struggle to make Rome into a holy city with holy sites. This aim of his would not have been accomplished without a clearly defined individual space to house the cult of each martyr alone. This specificity was a well-rooted criterion in pagan Rome for the establishment and construction of a sacred place.⁸³ Already in the second century, we know that

80. See n. 2 above.

81. Kessler, "Meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome," 268.

82. Fabrizio Bisconti, "Labbraccio tra Pietro e Paolo ed un affresco inedito del Cimitero romano dell'ex Vigna Chiaraviglio," *Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 42 (1995): 71–91; Bisconti, "Nuovi affreschi dal cimitero dell'ex Vigna Chiaraviglio," *Rendiconti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, s.III, 73 (2000–2001): 3–42; Bisconti, "Pietro e Paolo: L'invenzione delle immagini, la rievocazione delle storie, la genesi delle teofanie," in *Pietro e Paolo: La storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli*, ed. Angela Donati et al. (Milano: Electa, 2000), 43–52. For the *Concordia apostolorum*, see Janet M. Huskinson, *Concordia Apostolorum: Christian Propaganda at Rome in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries: A Study in Early Christian Iconography and Iconology* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1982).

83. Hubert Cancik, "Rome as Sacred Landscape: Varro and the End of Republican Religion in Rome," *Visible Religion* 4, no. 5 (1985/6): 250–265; Bruno Reudenbach, "Holy Places and Their Relics," in Kühnel, Noga-Banaï, and Vorholt, *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, 197–206, esp. 199–203.

Peter's tomb was distinguished from other tombs in the Vatican necropolis by a small shrine.⁸⁴ It is most likely that in the necropolis by the marshy land on the other side of the Tiber, the tomb of S. Paul was also somehow distinctly noticeable among other graves. The second-century churchman Gaius reports that it was marked by a certain *tropaion* (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.25.7).⁸⁵ As we saw in chapter 2, some of the mid-fourth-century Passion sarcophagi depicting the martyrdom of Paul made sure to refer to the site of his death by adding reeds, a pillar, and a ship stern between the figures, to indicate the river bank (Figs. 21, 22).⁸⁶ Thus, as noted earlier, the two churches built on either side of the river during the Constantinian period were the only churches that were actually identified with specific martyrs and built in the same areas where their martyrdoms had taken place; the southern aisle of the Vatican basilica was built over Nero's circus, where Peter was crucified, and the basilica on the Via Ostiense was built near the bank of the Tiber, where Paul was decapitated. The two Roman churches each mark and commemorate at one and the same time a tomb and a foundational event.

The Theodosian basilica dedicated to Paul did justice to the site, declaring, through the lavish building, its equal significance with the church of St. Peter. After all, the smaller Constantinian church dedicated to Paul did not project visually the characteristic that the sacred site shared with St. Peter's. The new framing of the tombs of Peter and Paul with duplicate generic basilicas constructed an imaginary bridge over the Tiber and visualized the two sites as pilgrimage foci of equivalent type and substance. Perhaps this heavy local weight and sacral legitimacy is the reason why the two transepted basilicas, unlike the U-shaped ambulatory basilicas (including the Basilica Apostolorum), engendered sequels in Rome beyond the fourth century,⁸⁷ as well as in venues other than Rome itself. With the completion of S. Paolo f.l.m., a great step had been taken toward the fulfillment of Damasus's vision. The universal recognition of Roman primacy was still not firmly established, but the clear visual alliance of the two great *loca sancta* in Rome certainly helped to advance that cause.⁸⁸ Enacting the alliance in public at least once a year, during the holiday

84. For the second-century sources, see Hugo Brandenburg, "Die Aussagen der Schriftquellen und der archäologischen Zeugnisse zum Kult der Apostelfürsten in Rom," in *Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Eine interdisziplinäre Debatte*, ed. Stefan Heid (Rome: Herder, 2011), 351–382.

85. Brandenburg, "Die Aussagen der Schriftquellen," 353–355.

86. See the discussion of the Passion sarcophagi in chapter 2.

87. One such example is the church of S. Prassede. See Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, 122–124.

88. For the political maneuvering that led to the establishment of Roman primacy, see Pietri, *Roma Cristiana*, 1151–1405.

dedicated to the two princely apostles, demonstrated, among other things, that visibility mattered.

The significant *dies natalis* of the two apostles and its celebration in Rome on June 29, is noted in Paulinus of Nola's report to his friend Severus in Gaul:

I set out for Rome for the revered feast of the apostles, promising myself that I would meet you there during that obligatory but joyful commemoration.⁸⁹

He also alludes to this celebration in another letter, this time to Delphinus, Bishop of Bordeaux: "Next, when I attended the feast of the blessed apostles according to my regular custom, he welcomed me at Rome with as much charm as honour."⁹⁰ It seems that Paulinus visited Rome for this local holiday on a regular basis. Based on the size of the church built on the Via Ostiense, it is clear that Paulinus was not the only one to make a pilgrimage at this same time to these same spots. The determination of Paulinus and probably others to repeat the pilgrimage time and again is given picturesque and attractive explanation by Prudentius, who contributes some details of the ritual that combined the two sites:

See, the people of Romulus goes pouring through the streets two separate ways, for the same day is busy with two festivals. But let us hasten with quickened step to both and in each get full enjoyment of the songs of praise. We shall go further on, where the way leads over Hadrian's bridge, and afterwards seek the left bank of the river. The sleepless bishop performs the sacred ceremonies first across the Tiber, then hurries back to this side and repeats his offerings. It is enough for you to have learned all this at Rome; when you return home, remember to keep this day of two festivals as you see it here.⁹¹

89. *Ep.* 17.1: "Romam ad uenerabilem sollemnitatis apostolicae diem profecti sumus, concursum nobis illic tuum debita quidem, sed tamen festiua meditatione promittentes"; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistolae*, ed. Wilhelm Hartel, CSEL 29 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1894), 125; English translation from Patrick G. Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, vol. 1, ACW 35 (New York: Newman Press, 1967), 163; see Dennis E. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters and Poems*, Transformation of Classical Heritage 27 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 115.

90. *Ep.* 20.2: "deinde nos ipsos Romae, cum sollemni consuetudine ad beatorum apostolorum natalem uenissetus, tam blande quam honorifice excepit"; Paulinus of Nola, *Epistolae*, ed. Wilhelm Hartel, CSEL 29 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1894), 144–145 (cf. *Ep.* 45.1); Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola* I, 186; Trout, *Paulinus of Nola*, 115.

91. "Aspice, per bifidas plebs Romula funditur plateas, / lux in duobus fervet una festis. / nos ad utrumque tamen gressu properemus incitato, / et his et illis perfruamur hymnis. / ibimus ulterius qua fert via pontis Hadriani, / laevam deinde fluminis petemus. / transtiberina prius solvit sacra pervigil sacredos, / mox huc recurrit duplicatque vota. / haec didicisse sat est Romae tibi: tu domum reversus /

The degree of holiness that Peter and Paul bestowed on the city is communicated through Paulinus of Nola's description of one of the earliest, if not the first, translation of Christian relics known: Constantine's translation of the relics of Andrew and Timothy to Constantinople. Looking back decades later, Paulinus ranks the value of the translation as an attempt to match the presence of the relics of Peter and Paul in Rome:

Indeed, when Constantine was founding the city named after himself and was the first of the Roman kings to bear the Christian name, the God-sent idea came to him that since he was embarking on the splendid enterprise of building a city that would rival Rome, he should also emulate Romulus's city with a further endowment, by gladly defending his walls with the bodies of the apostles. He then removed Andrew from the Achaeans and Timothy from Asia. And so Constantinople now stands with twin towers, vying with the eminence of great Rome, or rather resembling the defenses of Rome in that God has counterbalanced Peter and Paul with a protection as great, since Constantinople has gained the disciple of Paul and the brother of Peter.⁹²

Paulinus, himself very much involved in translating and accepting relics and their cults, acknowledges the clear superiority of Rome in the hierarchy of relic ownership, with a slight touch of irony praising those who have (only) the relics of Peter's and Paul's disciples. Rome's great eminence and superiority to all other places was due to the presence of the house and tombs of Peter and Paul.

When Paulinus wrote his description of the relics' translation at the turn of the century, it was impossible to avoid the visibility of the two apostles in

diem bifestum sic colas memento." Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon*, 12.57–66, in Thomson, *Prudentius*, 2:327; for the liturgy for that day, see Victor Saxer, "Le culte des apôtres Pierre et Paul dans les plus vieux formulaires romains de la messe du 29 juin: recherches sur la thématique des sections XV–XVI du Sacramentaire Léonien," in *Saecularia Petri et Pauli: Conferenze per il centenario del martirio degli apostoli Pietro e Paolo tenute nel Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Christiana*, ed. Bruno M. Apollonj Ghetti, et al., *Studi di Antichità Cristiana* 28 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Christiana, 1969), 199–240.

92. Paulinus, *Carmen* 19.329–342: "nam Constantinus proprii cum conderet urbem/ nominis et primus Romano in nomine regum/ christicolam gereret, diuinum mente receipt / consilium, ut quoniam Romanae moenibus Urbis / aemula magnificis strueret tunc moenia coeptis, / his quoque Romuleam sequeretur dotibus urbem, / ut sua apostolicis muniret moenia laetus / corporibus. Tunc Andream deuexit Achiuis / Timotheumque Asia; geminis ita turribus extat / Constantinopolis, magnae caput aemula Romae, / uerius hoc similis Romanis culmine muris, / quod Petrum Paulumque pari deus ambitione / compensauit ei, meruit quae sumere Pauli / discipulum cum fratre Petri." *Sancti Pontii Meropii Pavlini Nolani Carmina*, ed. Wilhelm A. Hartel, CSEL 30 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1894), 129–130; translated by Patrick G. Walsh, *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola* (New York: Newman Press, 1975, 142–143; with modifications by Cyril Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics," *BZ* 83 (1990): 51–62, on 53.

Rome, projected by the new basilica dedicated to Paul and the ritual linking it to St. Peter's. I suggest that the rebuilding of S. Paolo f.l.m. not only completed Damasus's efforts to articulate the Christian character and value of Rome and turn the city into a pilgrimage center, but itself articulated a turning point in Rome's attitude toward Jerusalem. This shift in attitude is the subject of chapter 4.

For the remainder of this section, I will concentrate on contemporary portable art that emerged shortly after the rebuilding of the basilica dedicated to Paul. The new church seems to have motivated innovative iconography. Moreover, it seems to have been the impetus to the creation of souvenirs and reliquaries. This "follow-up" phenomenon is an inevitable development around any *locus sanctus*;⁹³ in this case, the new portable art reflects not only the status of the church of S. Paolo in relation to that of St. Peter, but also the power of a popular pilgrimage site as significant as St. Peter's.

Portable "Follow-Ups" to San Paolo Fuori le Mura: Peter and Paul were leading stars in Roman decorative programs during the fourth century, and especially in the second half of the century, whether one considers sarcophagi, gold-glass bottoms, or mosaics produced in the city around that time. I have already discussed the Passion sarcophagi, from the middle of the century, which represented their martyrdoms, as well as their presence, in the last quarter of the century, in the representative compositions of *Dominus legem dat* (*Dld*) and the Adoration of the Elevated Christogram. Images of episodes from the life of Peter can be found in all possible media from the first half of the fourth century onward. Apart, however, from Paul's martyrdom and participation in the representative compositions, scenes from Paul's life, including that of his meeting with Peter, are rarely depicted before the turn of the century.⁹⁴ At the beginning of the fifth century, however, portable Pauline art also begins regularly to appear.

By early in the fifth century, the scene of the Meeting of Peter and Paul, as well as more canonical scenes of the life of Paul reported in Acts, may be found on carved ivories.⁹⁵ The depiction of Peter warmly hugging Paul, their cheeks touching, decorates an ivory belt buckle, today in Castellammare di

93. See, for instance, Bruno Reudenbach, "Holy Places and Their Relics," in Kühnel, Noga-Banai, and Vorhol, *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, 197–206.

94. For the repertoire of Petrine scenes, see Manuel Sotomayor, *San Pedro en la iconografía paleocristiana: testimonios de la tradición cristiana sobre San Pedro en los monumentos iconográficos interiores al siglo sexto* (Granada: Facultad de Teología, 1962), 153–162. An exceptional representation of Paul may be seen on a Roman sarcophagus from Berja, dated 325–335, now in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, in which Peter and Paul are shown before Nero. See Sotomayor, *San Pedro*, 98, fig. 18; and Manuel Sotomayor, *Sarcófagos romano-cristianos de España: Estudio iconográfico* (Granada: Facultad de Teología, 1975), 101–107, no. 16, pls. 4.1 and 29.

95. Herbert L. Kessler, "Scenes from the Acts of the Apostles on Some Early Christian Ivories," *Gesta* 18 (1979): 109–119.

Stabia (Fig. 44).⁹⁶ The figures are large in relation to the frame and fill the entire surface. There are no other figures or details of landscape or attributes, which suggests that this emblematic composition was known and easily identified even when it was independent and not included in a Pauline cycle. It could have been modeled after a prestigious monumental representation, such as that in the nave of S. Paolo f.l.m.⁹⁷ A set of three ivory panels that may once have decorated a casket, also dated to the fifth century and now in the British Museum, shows several episodes from the life of Peter and Paul. One panel shows Peter's Miracle of the Rock, one shows Peter Raising Tabitha, and the third shows Paul Preaching to Thecla and the Stoning of Paul (Pl. 12).⁹⁸ The preaching episode is found in the second-century apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*; the Stoning of Paul is related in Acts 14:19. The carving on the right leaf of an ivory diptych, now in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, depicts three episodes from the life of Paul (Fig. 45).⁹⁹ The top scene shows the seated apostle holding a scroll in his left hand and with his right hand addressing a man who stands next to him, holding a book. Another person, with a scroll in his hand, stands behind Paul's chair. The interpretation of this scene is not clear.¹⁰⁰ The other two scenes depict Paul's stay in Malta (Acts 28:1–9): The middle scene shows Paul unharmed by the viper; the bottom of the panel Paul's Healing of the Father of Publius.

The fact that the three ivories show different episodes from the life of Paul and include two that are not found in canonical texts—the Meeting of Peter and Paul, and the Meeting of Paul with Thecla—suggest that the representations

96. Castellammare Di Stabia, Antiquarium Stabiano (Archaeological Museum); Kessler, "Meeting of Peter and Paul," 267, with earlier bibliography; Angela Donati, *Pietro e Paolo*; cat. no. 55; and Jeffrey Spier, ed. *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art* (exhibition catalogue; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), cat. no. 70.

97. The date of the frescoes in S. Paolo is not definitively known, although it seems reasonable to assume that the church was decorated soon after the building was completed, around 400. See Kessler, "Meeting of Peter and Paul," 266. Hugo Brandenburg argues that the nave was decorated before 400. See his review of Bucarelli and Morales, *Paulo Apostolo Martyr*, in *RQ* 107 (2012): 138.

98. London, the British Museum, 56, 6–23, 8, 9, and 10. See Wolfgang F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz: Zabern, 1976), no. 117; Kurt Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century; Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nov. 19, 1977 through Feb. 12, 1978* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), cat. no. 455; Kessler, "Scenes from the Acts," 112–113, Huskinson, *Concordia Apostolorum*, 44–46; Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, cat. No. 60; Umberto Utró, "Alle origini dell'iconografia Paolina," in Bucarelli and Morales, *Paulo Apostolo Martyr*, 27–44, at 36–37.

99. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. Carrand Collection 20; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 108; Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, cat. no. 454; Kessler, "Scenes from the Acts," 117; Spier, *Picturing the Bible*, cat. no. 78; Utró, "Alle origini dell'iconografia Paolina," in Bucarelli and Morales, *Paulo Apostolo Martyr*, 37.

100. Kessler suggested that the scene refers to the encounter between Christian theology and pagan philosophy initiated by Paul. See Kessler, "Scenes from the Acts," 117.

were taken from a rich cycle of scenes that did not necessarily illustrate a text. The diversity in both carving style and compositional design testifies to different artists, perhaps even to different places of origin; although it seems plausible that the panels in the British Museum and the diptych leaf in Florence originated in Rome. The variety in content and style suggests that these disparate extant exemplars are representative of a theme that was popular at that time. Again, we may turn to the wall paintings in the Catacomb of Vigna Chiaraviglio or in the contemporary Catacomb of Thecla on the Via Ostiense, in order to grasp the formulae in which Paul appeared, as well as their frequency.¹⁰¹ At any event, if the monumental cycle in the nave of S. Paolo was made at the turn of the fifth century, it could well have been the inspiration and visual source for the representations on the portable ivories.¹⁰²

As was noted in chapter 2, Peter and Paul were not the only saints and martyrs represented in Roman art. Images of local martyrs were painted in the catacombs in various representative formulae throughout the last decades of the fourth century, beginning during Damasus's time in office.¹⁰³ The visual focus on the activities of the two apostles at the turn of the century is usually attributed, based on contemporary textual sources, to their preeminent roles as cofounders of the Roman church, and as civic heroes in the battle and triumph of the Roman Church against the pagan aristocracy of the city.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the connection noticed here between portable art and the reconstruction of S. Paolo f.l.m. implies a dynamic typical of a holy site that attracted pilgrims. As it evolved its own self-understanding as a sacred city embracing highly ranked sites of sacred events and tombs, Christian Rome produced visual formulae composed of local traditions. No wonder that representations of its liturgical topography soon emerged, which included details from these sites. I will explore this phenomenon through discussion of the casket found in Samagher.

101. For the catacombs of Thecla and the representation of the apostles' portraits and scenes, see *Il cubicolo degli Apostoli nelle catacombe romane di S. Tecla*, ed. Barbara Mazzei (Vatican City: Pontificia commissione di archeologia sacra, 2010).

102. When Kessler, "Scenes from the Acts," 113, compared the scene of the stoning on the panel in the British Museum to the water-color copy of the same scene in the church, he found that, "The central figure of the San Paolo panel is, in pose, so like the man assaulting Paul on the ivory that a connection between the two works seems plausible."

103. See recently, Fabrizio Bisconti, "Affreschi estremi: La fine della pittura nelle catacombe Romane," *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 20 (2014): 37–50.

104. See, e.g., Prudentius's *Contra Symmachum*; Pietri, *Roma Cristiana*, 1571–1592; Huskinson, *Concordia Apostolorum*, 166.

THE CASKET FROM SAMAGHER

A wooden rectangular casket covered with an ivory relief, now kept in the Museo Archeologico in Venice, was found in 1906 beneath the apse of the Basilica of S. Hermagoras in Samagher, near Pola (Pula, Istria; now in Croatia). Stylistic comparisons suggest that the casket was most likely produced in Rome, circa 440.¹⁰⁵ The carved ivory panels are not complete; the lid and the left side are the most fragmentary. There is enough left of the lid to discern that it was decorated with a relief of *Dld* (Fig. 8). The front of the body of the casket displays the Adoration of the *Hetoimasia* (the empty heavenly throne prepared for Christ's Second Coming); the back and side panels show architectural settings in which ceremonies take place. The lid and body panels are framed by relatively wide vertical and horizontal bands, decorated with figurative and ornamental motifs.

The front panel with the Adoration of the *Hetoimasia* is divided by palm trees into seven niches (Fig. 9). The central space is occupied by an empty throne flanked by six apostles, three on each side. Paul is closest to the throne on the left, which suggests that the figure across from the throne on the right, its face damaged, is Peter. Both are looking toward the center, directly above the throne (where a piece of the relief is missing), with their hands in acclamation pose. Other early Christian representations of the *Hetoimasia* feature a jeweled cross at the top of the throne; one such example may be seen at the zenith of the mosaic that decorates the triumphal arch in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (432–440).¹⁰⁶ Thus, it seems safe to assume that a jeweled cross was fixed upright above the throne in the Samagher composition. Under the throne the Lamb of God (restored) stands on a hill from which the four rivers flow.

In trying to decipher the decorative program of the casket, Tillman Buddensieg argued that the various panels of the casket allude to the major pilgrimage churches of Rome. In his schema, the front panel reflects the apse mosaic of the Lateran basilica during the consulate of Flavius Felix (428–430).¹⁰⁷ The back panel shows an elaborate architectural construction, composed of a baldachin at center

105. The dimensions are 18.5 x 20.5 x 16.1 centimeters. See Davide Longhi, *La capsella eburnea di Samagher: Iconografia e committenza* (Ravenna: Girasole, 2006), with earlier bibliography; Fabrizio Bisconti, "La capsella di Samagher: il quadro delle interpretazioni," in *Il cristianesimo in Istria fra tarda antichità e alto Medioevo*, ed. Emilio Marin, and Danilo Mazzoleni, 217–232; Robin Jensen, *Living Water: Images, Symbols, and Settings of Early Christian Baptism* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 95–98; Martina Bagnoli et al., eds., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (exhibition catalogue; London: British Museum, 2011), no.16; Most recently, see Jaś Elsner, "Closure and Penetration: Reflections on the Pola Casket," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* n.s. 12 (2013): 183–227.

106. For S. Maria Maggiore, see discussion in chapter 4 below.

107. Tillmann Buddensieg, "Le coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre et le Latran," *CA* 10 (1959): 157–200. The apse of the Lateran basilica today is an eighteenth-century restoration with additions to the medieval mosaic made by Jacopo Torriti in 1291, showing the Adoration of the Cross. It is commonly

front, made of four spirally fluted columns; on each side at the back two additional columns support curtains between them (Fig. 10). According to Buddensieg, the fluted columns designate the construction as the shrine of St. Peter in Rome, and the *Dld* on the lid of the casket denotes the apse mosaic in that church.¹⁰⁸ In front of the curtains on the right side stand two women; and on the left, two men. Inside the baldachin a man and a woman bow in acclamation; their hands almost touch a cross that is standing upright on an altar between them.¹⁰⁹

The central panels on the right and left sides of the casket each display three intercolumnar spaces that compose an edifice. The one on the right seems to represent a centralized structure, which could be a rotunda or an octagon, with an architrave carrying an adumbrated, domed ceiling (Fig. 11). As in the back panel, two women stand on the right side, two men on the left.¹¹⁰ At the very fragmentary center it is possible to detect traces of some kind of shrine covered by a curtain. In front of the shrine, a woman stands in profile, her right hand raised in acclamation, while her left hand apparently held the hand of a child; the pose suggests that a male figure was standing opposite her in a corresponding posture. Buddensieg proposed that this panel represented the baptism in the Lateran; Guarducci argued for the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.¹¹¹ The same basic arrangement is carved in relief on the left side of the casket, except that the three arches are directly resting on the four columns (Fig. 12). The shrine in the center is covered by curtains and a screen door. Two women stand on the right and two men on the left, all looking toward the central shrine, where a family, composed of a man, woman, and child, stands facing the

held that Toritti relied on the fifth-century mosaic, especially in reproducing the bust of Christ above the monumental cross. It is likely that the original (Constantinian) mosaic decorating the apse was nonfigurative. See Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms*, 26; Peter C. Claussen, *Die Kirchen der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter 1050–1300*, vol. 2: *S. Giovanni in Laterano*, *Corpus Cosmatorum* 2.2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008), 104–106.

108. This interpretation has gained general support and generated much follow-up. See the discussion of *Dld* in chapter 1. For the historiography, see Achim Arbeiter, “Die Mosaiken,” in Jürgen J. Rasch and Achim Arbeiter, *Das Mausoleum der Constantina in Rom*, *Spätantike Zentralbauten in Rom und Latium* 4 (Mainz: Zabern, 2007), 124–144, with extensive bibliography.

109. Helmut Buschhausen, *Die spätromischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare* (Wien: Böhlau, 1971), 219–223, proposed that the scene connotes a marriage at St. Peter’s.

110. It has recently been argued that the men and women in the back and side panels represent clergy. See Mary M. Schaefer, *Woman in Pastoral Office: The Story of Santa Prassese, Rome* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 197–200.

111. See Buddensieg, “Le coffret en ivoire de Pola,” 172; and Margherita Guarducci, *La capsella eburnea di Samagher: Un cimelio di arte paleocristiana nella storia del tardo Impero* (Trieste: Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria, 1978), 77–85. Guarducci’s interpretation is supported by Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 23 n. 16.

shrine, with backs to the beholder. Buddensieg held that the casket represents a pilgrimage of a family to the important churches in Rome; he suggested that if the other panels denote visits to St. Peter's and the Lateran baptistery, the composition on this side panel represents a consecration ceremony in S. Paolo's. Guarducci suggested that S. Croce in Gerusalemme is meant; Longhi proposed the crypt of S. Lorenzo f.l.m., a popular U-shaped pilgrimage basilica built by Constantine on the via Tiburtina.¹¹²

The uncertainty regarding the identification of the shrines represented on the body of the casket does not necessarily preclude some insights concerning the decorative program and its visual context. The lid and front do not carry the architectural template seen on the back and side of the casket body, which indicates that there are two groups of compositions, creating a hierarchy of some kind. The repetitive architectural composition implies a series; the variations within the template intimate that the series is comprised of specific sites. It seems safe to assume that the combinations of characteristic architecture and figures in action supply a set of "snapshots"; they document the structure of, and the liturgy that took place in, a series of shrines built over holy sites or containing holy relics. This reading of the panels as pictures rather than narrative episodes is supported by the thick frames, which negate any attempt to read a narrative across the body of the casket. The rhetoric of the dominant frames, to use Elsner's phrase, may contribute a clue to what the casket contained, and consequently to its function.¹¹³

The four sides of the lid are designed like a frame. They are decorated with the adoration of a jeweled cross by four doves, two on each side of the cross. The ivories that once covered the vertical borders of the casket's body at the corners were not preserved, but the upper and lower horizontal frame of the large middle panels on the body show a similar consistent repetition. The upper borders show the adoration of either a cross or a staurogram by lambs in a short procession, two on either side, facing toward the center. The staurogram is accompanied by the apocalyptic letters *alpha* and *omega* (Rev. 1:8) and surrounded by a triumphal wreath (it is missing from the front panel, due to the lock). The lambs

112. See n. 28 above. Davide Longhi, "Il Lato sinistro della capsella di Samagher e a memoria constantinian di St. Lorenzo," *Felix Ravenna* 141–144 (1991): 95–128; Longhi, *La capsella eburnea di Samagher*, 66–89. A medallion (now lost) dating most likely to the fifth century bears a representation of the martyrdom of Lawrence on one side and a shrine with spiral columns on the other. This suggests that the shrine in St. Peter's was not the only one to have such a design—unless this medallion, too, represented St. Peter's. See most recently, Lucy Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London: Duckworth, 2004), 124–126, fig. 3; Grig, "Portraits, Pontiffs, and the Christianization of Fourth-Century Rome," *PBSR* 72 (2004): 203–230, fig. 12.

113. Jaś Elsner, "Framing the Objects We Study: Three Boxes from Late Roman Italy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71 (2008): 21–38.

emerge from two city-gate structures at the corners. A similar group of motifs may be seen on the upper horizontal borders of the two shorter sides, where a cross stands at the center and only one lamb stands on each side.

The inclusion of the pair of city-gate-type structures on the corners of all four sides may actually support the view that all the central panels represent sites in Rome. We have seen such architectural elements flanking the *Dld* scene in S. Costanza, on the sarcophagus in Milan and on a gold-glass bottom (Figs. 7, 13; Pl. 1). When this casket was produced, toward the mid-fifth century, the paired architectural elements had already been identified as Jerusalem and Bethlehem.¹¹⁴ At least one contemporary monumental example, the mosaic decorating the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore (430s), includes inscriptions identifying the structures as these two cities (see Figs. 49, 50 in chapter 4). It seems plausible to assume that if Jerusalem and Bethlehem are repeatedly represented on the casket in the top frames, the right side-panel does not then carry a picture of Jerusalem (as suggested by Guarducci), but rather of a Roman locus. Moreover, if indeed the city gates constitute a visual abbreviation for the sacred sites in Palestine, they could direct the reading of the images in the center as pilgrimage destinations (in Rome).

The lower horizontal borders of the casket's body also help to convey the possible content of the casket. Like the upper border, the decorative program does not run around the casket, but rather splits at the corners into four distinct bands. At the center of each band there is a cross.

The crosses at the center of each top and bottom border clip indicate that the decorative plan is composed around axes. Each axis is marked by the cross on the lower strip of the frame, the shrine or throne with or without a cross at the center, the staurogram or a cross on the upper border of the casket body, and the jeweled cross on the side bars of the lid. This layout itself constitutes a virtual cross made of crosses on each side of the casket.¹¹⁵ The layout and framing strategy suggest that the sole protagonist in the decorative program is the cross: The cross is the central motif on most sides of the casket's body, in the central panels as well as the borders; this hints that the closed screen of the shrine pictured on the left side of the casket probably shelters a cross as well. It is therefore tempting to suggest that the casket was used as a *staurothek*,

114. For the earlier representations, see the discussion on S. Costanza in chapter 1.

115. Monumental examples of such an arrangement—that is, intersecting axes formed by repeated crosses on architectural elements, for instance, arches, which thus form a virtual cross—may be found in the vault of the Capella Archivescovile in Ravenna, dated circa 500, and in the presbyterium of S. Vitale, also in Ravenna, dated to the mid-sixth century. See Josef Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung frühchristlicher Bildwerke* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997), 131–136.

a reliquary for a piece of the True Cross.¹¹⁶ The city gates representing Jerusalem and Bethlehem also support this identification; they could imply the Palestinian origin of the relic. Wrapped in an envelope made of Roman sites, the casket found in Samagher may well have held a Jerusalemite relic that was first translated to Rome and then relocated from Rome across the Adriatic.¹¹⁷

The site-specific layout spoken by the rhetoric of the frames, axes, compositions, and motifs found on this casket is missing from more or less contemporary containers. The framing and settings of the ivory panels invites a comparison with another famous ivory casket (the so-called *Lipsanoteca*) now in Brescia, dated around a half-century earlier.¹¹⁸ The relation between the frames and the central panels are very much the same as that of the casket from Samagher. In the earlier casket, however, some of the panels are divided into registers, and more than one scene occupies the large panels. The two caskets do not share any motif or scene. The casket in Brescia is decorated mainly with scenes from biblical narratives; there seems to be neither any particular emphasis on the cross nor use of Roman visual formulae per se, such as the iconic scene of *Dld*.

A silver casket from Nea Herakleia in Greece, on the other hand, has *Dld* on its front (Fig. 15).¹¹⁹ It is the first thing that captures one's attention when one compares this casket, produced in Rome in the last quarter of the fourth century, with that of Samagher. A second observation reveals that the two cube-like caskets share the same divisions of the panels into groups of compositions.

116. A similar speculation, based on the inclusion of the Adoration of the Cross in the decorative program, was raised by Joseph Wilpert, "Le due più antiche rappresentazioni della 'adoratio Crucis,'" *Memorie Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 2, no. 4 (1928): 135–155; and Anatole Frolow, *La relique de la vraie Croix: Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1961), 166, no. 12. Other suggestions for the use of the casket include preparation as a private baptismal gift (Paul Künzel, "Das Petrusreliquar von Samagher," *RQ* 71 (1976): 22–41) and secondary use as reliquary (Buddensieg, "Le coffret en ivoire de Pola").

117. See chapter 1 on the presence of relics of the True Cross in Rome. For early medieval reliquaries with architectural decorative plans referring to Jerusalem or Rome, or combining Jerusalem and Rome, see Galit Noga-Banai, "Einhard's Arch," 27–41; Noga-Banai, "Relocation to the West: The Relic of the True Cross in Poitiers," in *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: The Merovingian Kingdoms in Mediterranean Perspective*, ed. Stefan Esders, Yaniv Fox, Yitzhak Hen and Laury Sarti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

118. Elsner, "Closure and Penetration," 184; Elsner, "Framing," 31–33, fig. 5. The ivory casket in Brescia has enjoyed scholarly attention. See, for example, Catherine B. Tkacz, *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and the Early Christian Imagination* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2002); Arturo Lettieri, *Iconografia e simbologia altomedievale nella lipsanoteca dei Civici musei di Santa Giulia a Brescia*, vol. 1 (Brescia: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, 2007); and the additional bibliography in both.

119. I mentioned the casket from Nea Herakleia in my discussions of the *Dld* scene (see chapter 1, n. 95), and of the Crossing of the Red-Sea Sarcophagus in Split (chapter 2, n. 73). For the casket's Roman provenance, see Noga-Banai, *Trophies of the Martyrs*, 30–38.

As I remarked above, the back and side panels of the Samagher casket share an architectural template, and the front and lid reflect a different type of composition. The same obtains with the decorative program on the Nea Heraklea casket. While the back and side panels of the silver casket compose one group, representing three Old Testament biblical narratives, the front and the lid bear more symbolic and representative compositions.

Daniel in the Lions' Den decorates the left side; Moses Receiving the Law, the right; and the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace adorn the back. The front panel features *Dld*, and the lid has a large Christogram accompanied by an *alpha* and *omega*.¹²⁰ By now we recognize that the combination of the Christogram with the *Dld* featuring Peter and Paul is a quintessential Roman combination.¹²¹ The *alpha* and *omega* help to identify the Christogram as a sign of triumph and as the precursor to the return of Christ at the End of Days, making Peter's and Paul's presence, in the *Dld*, into a representation of the two Roman martyrs as advocates. The salvation promised by their advocacy is rendered by the scenes from the Book of Daniel, and the Roman context is further emphasized by the placement of Peter and Moses as mirror figures on the front and the right side of the casket.¹²²

The division of the panels into dominant and subordinate compositional groupings, as well as the location of *Dld* and the Christogram at the heart of the decorative program, identify the casket from Nea Herakleia as a predecessor of that of Samagher. Recognition of this relationship allows us to go further and identify two major, and significant, *differences* between the two caskets. The first has to do with the repertoire of scenes. The Samagher casket does not use biblical narrative or compare the Old and New Laws to gain legitimacy for Peter as does the one from Nea Herakleia. Moreover, the decorative program of the casket from Samagher is by no means limited to the visual repertoire rooted in Christian funerary art. On the contrary, by enfolding the *Dld* within a series of local Christian cult sites, it declares Rome as a pilgrimage center.

This iconographical difference is supported by the second difference, which is reflected by the strategy of framing. In Nea Herakleia only the lid has a decorative rim, so that when the casket is closed, the frame seems like the upper frieze of the casket's body. This way, the "mirror effect" of Moses and Peter is not

120. A similar arrangement may be seen in the early fifth-century decorative program of the so-called reliquary of SS. Julitta and Quiricus in Museo Archivescovile in Ravenna; there, however, the lid is missing. See Noga-Banai, *Trophies of the Martyrs*, 29, figs. 16–19.

121. See the discussion of the Adoration of the Elevated Christogram in chapter 2.

122. For the conflation of *Dld* with the imagery of Moses receiving the Law in Rome, see the discussion in chapter 1, p.35

disrupted, and the two scenes from the book of Daniel are better connected. In addition, the frameless body enables a continuity between the biblical scenes and *Dld* in the narrative of salvation. This artistic continuity enfolds the *Dld* into the biblical salvation narrative. In Samagher, none of the frames constitutes a running pattern, not even in the rim of the lid. The borders are made of separate ivory clips. On the one hand, these emphasize the independence of the central panels, as though to negate any attempt to read a running narrative on the body of the casket. On the other hand, because the frames are repetitive, they impose uniformity, implying that each sandwiched panel is significant but, at the same time, is based on a serial template. The series is composed of pictures of sites rather than narrative episodes.

These differences between the Samagher casket and its predecessor, I submit, can be attributed to changes in the Roman imaginary between the last decades of the fourth century and the first half of the fifth. A wider look at portable art of this period may help us to discern the contours of this change.

It is unusual that in the first half of the fifth century we find a topographical program decorating a portable object from Rome; as noted earlier, this feature characterizes articles coming from recognized pilgrimage sites, but most pilgrimage art is dated from the sixth-century onward.¹²³ The lead-alloy ampullae from the Holy Land, for instance, made to hold holy oil and decorated with various combinations of biblical scenes associated with the holy sites, were produced toward the end of the sixth century. The same is true of liturgical and votive objects associated with churches in Syria.¹²⁴ The pilgrims probably felt that it was enough to have been present at the sites that were directly connected with the holy word; they had no need of mediatory objects with site-specific iconography. In Rome, however, it seems that the need to create a Christian site-specific decorative program for portable mementos had local predecessors. One may recall the Passion sarcophagi, dated around the middle of the fourth century, with the reed implying the Tiber as background for the scene representing the Martyrdom of Paul.¹²⁵

Notwithstanding the time difference, the combination of a topographical program and portable object led Buddensieg to compare the Samagher casket

123. This view may be changing, in light of some evidence coming from North Africa. See Josef Engemann, "Die Himmelfahrt Christi: Eine neue Interpretation früher Bilder," *JAC* 54 (2011): 98–104. I plan to deal with this question in the future.

124. See, for instance, Marlia Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore, MD: Walters Art Gallery, 1986); Suzan Boyd and Marlia Mundell Mango, eds., *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992).

125. For the Passion sarcophagi, see chapter 2.

with pilgrimage art from Palestine. As we have seen, he connected the panel on the lid of the casket with the apse decoration in St. Peter's, and the front panel with the apse decoration in S. Giovanni in Laterano. He thus proposed that the artistic program of the casket was functionally similar to that of Palestinian ampullae, in the sense that all of these carried compositions that represented monumental sites and their decoration programs.¹²⁶ It is problematic to compare a Roman casket produced sometime in the fifth century with portable art made in Palestine toward the end of the sixth century. On the other hand, Jerusalem is the only place besides Rome that had the potential to produce inanimate objects decorated with a topographical program. Thus, not having any earlier exemplars, I will follow Buddensieg's approach. I will compare the Samagher casket with a different, late sixth- to early seventh-century object produced in association with the holy sites in Jerusalem. I hope thereby to illustrate the significance of the Samagher casket for representing the evolving status of *loca sancta* in Rome.

Given the potential similarity of function, I prefer to compare the Samagher casket with a wooden reliquary box from Jerusalem, which was found in the *Sancta Sanctorum* collection of reliquaries in the Lateran. The wooden box holds stones and a small piece of wood from the sacred places in Palestine, some of them inscribed, disclosing their sites of origin: Mount of Olives, Bethlehem, Sion.¹²⁷ When closed, the external side of the lid is painted with a large cross, reinforced by the X (*chi*) set within a dark blue mandorla that is rooted in a hill and surrounded by the Greek abbreviations $\overline{\text{IC}}$ and $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (*Iesous Christos*) and the letters *alpha* and *omega*. The inner side of the lid, seen when the wooden box is opened, is decorated with five scenes representing the life of Christ (Pl. 13). The scene at the top left is the Resurrection, represented by two women at the tomb of Christ; this is shadowed by the dome of the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre. On the top right is the Ascension. The center of the composition displays the Crucifixion. The bottom left shows the Nativity,

126. Buddensieg, "Le coffret en ivoire de Pola," 188. For the Palestinian ampullae, see André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza, Bobbio)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1958); Josef Engemann, "Palästinsische Pilgerampullen im F. J. Dölger Institut in Bonn," *JAC* 16 (1973): 5–27; Bianca Kühnel, "The Holy Land as a Factor in Christian Art," in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 463–504. See additional bibliography regarding the ampullae in chapter 4, n. 86 below.

127. This reliquary has enjoyed scholarly attention. Most recently, see Bagnoli et al., *Treasures of Heaven*, no. 13; Bruno Reudenbach, "Loca sancta: Zur materiellen Übertragung der heiligen Stätten," in *Jerusalem, du Schöne: Vorstellungen und Bilder einer heiligen Stadt*, ed. Bruno Reudenbach, *Vestigia Bibliae* 28 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 9–32; Reudenbach, "Holy Places and Their Relics"; Beate Fricke, "Tales from Stones, Travels through Time: Narrative and Vision in the Casket from the Vatican," *West* 86th 21, no. 2 (2014): 230–250; Herbert L. Kessler, "Arca Arcarum: Nested Boxes and the Dynamics of Sacred Experience," *Codex Aquilarensis* 30 (2014): 38–108.

in a scene that includes the manger and altar with a fenestella that was to be seen in the basilica in Bethlehem; the bottom left has the Baptism. The physical details from the Holy Land shrines inserted into the biblical scenes, with the actual relics in the box below, turn the biblical iconography into a visual interpretation of the holy sites and the historical events associated with them—the Holy Sepulchre, the Mount of Olives, Golgotha, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and the Jordan River, respectively. The physical details from the churches, recognizable in portable Palestinian containers of different kinds from the sixth century onward, illustrate the direct connection between the object and the sites, and consequently add authenticity to the materials within.¹²⁸

Apart from these physical details, the Vatican box borrowed and applied Palestinian visual formulae that were identified with specific sites. The Ascension icon on the wooden casket is a visual solution that was innovated to represent the “launch station” on the Mount of Olives: Mary and the apostles stand at the bottom of the scene, and Christ sits within a mandorla held by angels above them—it is not clear whether he is ascending to or descending from heaven. This so-called “eastern” composition of the Ascension contrasts with the “western” type, in which Christ is shown climbing a mountain; it originated in Palestine in order to reflect the significance of the Mount of Olives as the landmark for Christ’s Ascension and Return at the End of Days.¹²⁹ It is not far-fetched to presume that the Palestinian Ascension was represented in churches located on or around the Mount of Olives, as the *Dld* was repeatedly represented in Rome.

Like the scenes on the casket from Samagher, each scene on the reliquary lid is framed, here by a black line, and the compositions are closed. There is no sign or gesture that leads the viewer to read the individual frames as a narrative of Christ’s biography, but rather as different stations that draw the map of the Christological story. In addition, there is a hierarchy in the significance of the various sites, indicated by the amount of space they take up and by their location

128. Kühnel, “Holy Land as a Factor,” in Limor and Stroumsa, *Christians and Christianity*, 473. On reliquaries and the issue of authenticity, see Bruno Reudenbach, “Reliquiare als Heiligkeitsbeweis und Echtheitszeugnis: Grundzüge einer problematischen Gattung,” in *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus*, vol. 4, ed. Bruno Reudenbach et al. (Berlin: Akademie, 2000), 1–36.

129. Kühnel, “Holy Land as a Factor,” in Limor and Stroumsa, *Christians and Christianity*, 479–484; Galit Noga-Banai, “Das Kreuz auf dem Ölberg: Mögliche frühe Bildbezeugungen,” *RQ* 102 (2007): 141–154; Noga-Banai, “The Brass Cross in Munich and *Loca Sancta Eulogia*: Innovative Representation of Local Tradition,” *Arte Medievale* n.s. 6, no. 1 (2007), 9–23. An unconvincing interpretation of the “eastern” composition type was given most recently by Ally Kateusz, who claims that the scene actually represents the Ascension of Mary. See Ally Kateusz, “Ascension of Christ or Ascension of Mary? Reconsidering a Popular Early Iconography,” *J ECS* 23, no. 2 (2015): 273–303.

in the overall layout. The most important place seems to be the complex of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Golgotha is represented by the Crucifixion in the double central panel; and Christ's tomb, by the Resurrection panel, which includes the rotunda of the Anastasis.

If Buddensieg's identification of the Samagher sites is correct, there is a more or less similar system of visual hierarchy on the Samagher casket. If two out of the three architectural panels represent the shrine of St. Peter and the baptistery in the Lateran, and the front and lid represent the apse decoration in St. Peter's and the Lateran Basilica, then St. Peter and S. Giovanni in Laterano are not only represented in the two leading panels, the lid and the front; rather, they are actually represented twice, with the Lateran configured as an episcopal residential complex, including a basilica and a baptistery. The visual emphasis given here to the two Roman churches associated with the Pope is functionally similar to the emphasis given to Golgotha-Anastasis on the reliquary.

But even if the architectural structures on the casket from Samagher are not identified with full certainty, the major insight gained by comparing the Palestinian pilgrimage casket with the Roman exemplar is that on the latter, the emphasis is on the rituals practiced in situ. The topographic or physical details on the Palestinian casket that identify the sites, such as the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre in the scene of the Resurrection or the manger in the scene of the Nativity, could mark a place of cult, where liturgy is performed and pilgrims are present; but the images first and foremost represent the biblical stories that are identified with the sites.¹³⁰ The casket from Samagher, by contrast, does not use local *historical* scenes such as the martyrdom of Peter and Paul or their meeting in Rome. On the contrary, it represents the two apostles in future salvation scenarios, surrounded by the active sacred sites of Rome.

The ivory panels on the casket from Samagher mark a culmination of the visual series we recognized in Rome. First, a monumental series was composed in the earlier fourth century by the ambulatory U-shaped basilicae. Their unified format emphasized the group identity of these churches; at the same time, this uniformity highlighted the structural distinction of St. Peter and S. Paolo f.l.m.: these two transept basilicae form an exclusive and different group in the Roman sacred landscape. Second, the epigrams placed by Damasus next to the tombs of the martyrs also formed a series with their identical calligraphy and

130. This is a phenomenon in Palestinian pilgrimage art that correlates with pilgrimage itineraries. Most pilgrims' Holy Land itineraries do not describe the constructions of the sites they visited but rather mention the biblical events they monumentalized. Kühnel, "Holy Land as a Factor," 471–473, noticed that in the sixth century, the so-called Anonymous Pilgrim of Piacenza may reflect a phenomenon that correlates with Palestinian pilgrimage art; he includes details that characterized various sites and signified their authenticity at the time of his visit. For the connection between the images and the stones and their association with local liturgy, see Reudenbach, "*Loca sancta*: Zur materiellen Übertragung der heiligen Stätten," 28–29.

the similar tone of their content. The recognizable episcopal marble signboard enabled direct and unifying access to the local martyrs and branded the sacred spatial map into the collective memory of Roman Christians.¹³¹ The establishment of a sacred local network, or a pilgrimage map, is reflected in the third series, the ivory panels that decorate the casket from Samagher. Most scholars are in accord, even if there is no agreement on the specific identifications, that the ivories show some kind of ceremonial events at specific shrines. Although, and because, it is a portable object representing the Church's efforts to establish public Christian cult in situ, the casket captures by its essence the fluid, local network quality. The casket evidently expresses the development of living topography in Rome, beginning with Damasus's identification of the holy sites, which defined the infrastructure for stational liturgy; through the rebuilding of S. Paolo f.l.m. immediately after his death; to the end of the first half of the fifth century, when Leo I's sermons hint toward an annual cycle of feasts now taking place in specific sites.¹³²

The scenes of sacred landscape depicted in the casket of Samagher and the rich Paul cycle seen on the ivories, all followed the rebuilding of S. Paolo f.l.m. This emergence of portable art indicates that by reshaping S. Paolo's, Rome finally established itself as a pilgrimage center as sacred as Jerusalem. In the next chapter, I argue that the visual dynamics that characterize fifth-century Rome as Christian cult center demonstrate that the city now felt secure and confident enough to enfold Jerusalem, with all the implications of acceptance.

131. The unity and control sought by Damasus may also be seen in an enactment of Pope Innocent (416), ordering that portions of the bishop's consecrated host, the *fermentum*, be distributed among the titular churches within the city. The host was delivered to the churches in recognizable sacks (*sacculus*) for use in Sunday masses. This was another way to make administrative centrality visible and to turn isolated celebrations into a local network of a united cult. See Innocent, *Ep.* 1.5 (PL 20: 553–61); Pietri, *Roma christiana*, 1:93; Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 123; Kim Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 71; Salzman, "Leo's Liturgical Topography," 2. The unification of the separated churches was crucial in Rome because churches were often identified with, and served as shelters of, rival ecclesiastical parties. See Allen Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*, VCSup 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1995); he discusses Damasus on 368–397. See also, more recently, with earlier bibliography, Jacob A. Latham, "From Literal to Spiritual Soldiers of Christ: Disputed Episcopal Elections and the Advent of Christian Processions in Late Antique Rome," *Church History* 81, no. 2 (2012): 298–327.

132. According to Baldovin, the earliest evidence of stational liturgy in Rome is the *Life of Hillary* (461–468), but Salzman also finds traces in the sermons written by his predecessor, Leo I (440–461). See Salzman, "Leo's Liturgical Topography"; Pietri, *Roma christiana*, 575–595. The earliest records of Rome's pilgrim guides are dated to the seventh century. See R. Valentini and G. Zuchetti, eds., *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1940–1953), 2:49–66 67–99 (*Notitia ecclesiarum urbis Romae*), 101–131 (*De locis sanctis martyrum*). See Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Suffolk: Boydell, 1998), 12–13.

Jerusalem in Rome

THIS CHAPTER IS ABOUT REPRESENTATIONS OF CONTEMPORARY constructions of earthly Christian Jerusalem in fifth-century Rome. Once the apostolic history of Rome had become visible in the city, and Rome had turned into a pilgrimage destination where the faithful celebrated the commemoration of the local Roman martyrs, Jerusalem was welcomed to perform on stage, embraced by the strong arms of Peter and Paul. Thus, additional translations of relics from Palestine to Rome, as well as distinct appearances of Jerusalem and Bethlehem in mosaic decoration (S. Pudenziana, S. Maria Maggiore) and possibly architecture (S. Stefano Rotondo), will form the core of discussion. I will show how innovative Roman combinations of Rome and Jerusalem, as well as configurations of Rome as the “Promised Land,” were designed to reinforce the supreme position of Rome and its Apostolic See both in the present and at the End of Days.

The Spanish poet Prudentius, who spent some time in Rome at the turn of the fifth century, was impressed by the many holy sites embraced by the city. In his *Liber Peristephanon* (*The Crown of the Martyrs*), from which I previously quoted his description on the joint celebration of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, he also describes the *dies natalis* of Hippolytus, a presbyter and bishop of Rome in the late second and early third century. The *Passion of the Most Blessed Martyr Hippolytus* is formulated as a letter to Valerian, bishop of Calahorra; it begins with an introduction expounding on the countless graves of saints Prudentius saw in the city of Romulus, and the marble epitaphs set up [by Damasus] next to them:

Many a grave is lettered and tells the martyr’s name or bears some epitaph, but there are mute marbles too, which shut up the tombs in silence and only indicate the number. . . . In surveying these memorials and hunting over them for any letters telling of the deeds of the old, that might escape the eye, I found that Hippolytus, who had at one time as a presbyter attached himself to the schism of Novatus, saying that our way was not to be followed, had been advanced to the crown of martyrdom and won the shining reward for suffering bloodshed.¹

1. “Innumeros cineres sanctorum Romula in urbe/ vidimus o Christi Valeriane sacer./ . . . plurima litterulis signata sepulcra loquuntur/ martyris aut nomen aut epigramma aliquod,/ sunt et muta tamen tacitas claudientia tumbas/ marmora, quae solum significant numerum./ . . . haec dum lustris oculis et

Prudentius goes on to elaborate on the martyr and his shrine, ending with an account of how masses of pilgrims assemble to pay their respect:

When the festival of his passion brings again its anniversary, can you imagine what multitudes gather with emulous zeal, what prayers join together to honour God? The majestic city disgorges her Romans in a stream. . . . Loud sounds of rejoicing rise from diverse roads leading from different places. . . . Scarcely can the broad plains hold the joyous multitudes.²

The holy site on the Via Tiburtina attracted many pilgrims and the church had to be replaced by a larger one:

But there stands close by another church, renowned for its princely decoration, for the great multitude to enter then, a lofty church with towering walls. . . . The building even when it is full scarcely admits the struggling waves of people, and there is turmoil in the confined space at the packed doorway when she opens her motherly arms to receive and comfort her children and they pile up on her teeming bosom.³

sicubi forte latentes/ rerum apices veterum per monumenta sequor,/ invenio Hippolytum qui quondam scisma Novati/ presbyter attigerat nostra sequenda negans,/usque ad martyrii provectum insigne tullise/ lucida sanguinei praemia supplicii." Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon*, 11.1–2, 7–10, 17–22. English translation by H. J. Thomson, *Prudentius*, 2 vols., LCL (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), 2:305–307. See Michael J. Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: The "Liber Peristephanon" of Prudentius*, *Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 148–167; Gabriel Bertonière, *The Cult Centre of the Martyr Hippolytus on the Via Tiburtina*, BAR International Series, 260 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). For Damasus's epitaph for Hippolytus, see Dennis Trout, "From the *Elogia* of Damasus to the *Acta* of the *Gesta Martyrum*: Re-staging Roman History," in *Attitudes towards the Past in Antiquity: Creating Identities*, ed. Brita Alroth and Charlotte Scheffer (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2014), 311–320; Trout, *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 144–147. For Damasus's (and Prudentius's) rewriting of the history of Hippolytus and his contemporaries as a time of conflict-free harmony, see Allen Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop*, VCSup 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), esp. 368–397; followed by Jaś Elsner, "Inventing Christian Rome: The Role of Early Christian Art," in *Rome the Cosmopolis*, ed. Catherine Edwards and Greg Woolf (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 71–99, esp. 93.

2. "Natalemque diem passio festa refert, quanta putas studiis certantibus agmina cogi, quaeve celebrando vota coire Deo? Urbs augusta suos vomit effunditque Quirites . . . exultant fremitus variarum hinc inde viarum . . . vix capiunt patuli populorum gaudia campi, haeret et in magnis densa cohors spatii." Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon*, 11.196–199, 205, 211–212, in Thomson, *Prudentius*, 2:319.

3. "[S]tat sed iuxta aliud, quod tanta frequentia templum tunc adeat cultu nobile regifico . . . plena laborantes aegre domus accipit undas, artaque confertis aestuat in foribus, maternum pandens gremium, quo condat alumnos ac foveat fetos adcumulata sinus." Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon*, 11.215–216, 227–230, in Thomson, *Prudentius*, 2:319–321.

Like the rebuilding of S. Paolo f.l.m., the rebuilding of S. Hippolytus's attests to the increasing number of pilgrims who came to Rome at the turn of the century. The crowd of people who visited the holy sites and walked the routes between them provided decisive and remarkable confirmation of the city's budding identity as a prominent pilgrimage center. I wish to suggest, in the context of the present discussion, that the monumental appearance of the city's sacred sites both projected the basis of the city's Christian past and implied a certain amount of pride and confidence in the preeminence of local Christian history, vis-à-vis other contemporary centers. This mixture of Christian visibility, local holy sites, and self-confidence, in turn affected the Roman attitude toward Jerusalem, the holy city in the east, the source and provenance of the Christological narrative and Christian salvation history. The previous chapter discussed the background for this change in perspective: the rebuilding of the Basilica of S. Paolo on the Via Ostiense, and its pairing with the Basilica of St. Peter; this architectural revision engendered the production of portable art decorated with new themes, a visual dynamic characteristic of significant pilgrimage sites.⁴

The church dedicated to Hippolytus on the Via Tiburtina, described by Prudentius in the passage quoted above, demonstrates that S. Paolo's was not the only church that had to be expanded to accommodate crowds of visitors. The martyrs' *memoriae* marked by Damasus's monumental epigrams and the churches in the cemeteries around the walls, together with the bishop's quarter in the Lateran, including the basilica, the baptistery and the church of S. Croce nearby, functioned together to turn Rome into a pilgrimage capital with *loca sancta* comparable to those of Jerusalem.⁵ Jerome actually made the analogy between the two, in his famous letter to Principia of 412. The letter tells the story and honors the memory of Principia's dearest friend, the Roman noble matron Marcella. When Jerome narrates the episode in Marcella's life when she lived with Principia, he praises the female monasteries established around Rome:

For a long time you lived together, and as many ladies shaped their conduct by your examples, I had the joy of seeing Rome transformed into another Jerusalem.⁶

4. As I noted in the introduction, other contemporary issues also affected the decorative programs produced in Rome: Christological disputations, the triumph of the church in Rome in its struggle against paganism, its competition with Constantinople for primacy, and the attack on Rome by the Visigoths in 410—to name a few. These topics have been discussed at length by others and are not part of the present study.

5. For the bishop's quarter in the Lateran, see below, nn. 28, 29.

6. Hieronymus, *Epistulae* 121–154, ed. Isidor Hilberg, CSEL 56 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1918), 151.26–152.1: “Multoque ita uixistis tempore, ut imitatione uestri et conuersione multarum gauderemus Romam factum Hierosolymam.” For an English translation of Jerome's *Letter* 127 to Principia, see *Women's Religions in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook*, ed. Ross Shepard Kraemer (Oxford: Oxford

In order to evaluate the changing perspective on Jerusalem in the visual conversion of Rome, I will next consider three monumental structures built in Rome during the course of the fifth century. True, they have been studied and associated with Jerusalem before, mainly because they made (contemporary) Jerusalem visible in one way or another. In view of the foregoing discussion of the role of Jerusalem as a “backstage” stimulus, however, it seems fitting here to revisit these instances of Jerusalem’s emergence “on stage” in Rome, in order to offer a more nuanced account of this phenomenon.

CHRIST AND THE APOSTLES IN JERUSALEM:
AT SANTA PUDENZIANA

Several years following the completion of the rebuilding of the Basilica of S. Paolo f.l.m., the apse in the basilica of S. Pudenziana on the Via Urbana was decorated with a magnificent mosaic representation, in a theatre-like composition, of Christ sitting among his apostles, holding an open codex, with Jerusalem’s contemporary townscape as the background (Pl. 14).⁷ The inscription on the open codex proclaims: DOMINUS CONSERVATOR ECCLESIAE PUDENTIANAE. Neither hidden, nor symbolically alluded to, nor polemically avoided but on stage, it is the earthly (Constantinian) Jerusalem in a heavenly context that is constructed here. This is the oldest extant decorated church apse in Rome, dated to the time of Pope Innocent I (402–417).

With its rich and multilayered combination of figures and motifs, the mosaic has enjoyed much attention from scholars of various disciplines. Church historians and archaeologists alike have either studied the mosaic on its own

University Press, 2004), 217. In the same letter (56.1.155–161), Jerome relates how Marcella died in 410 at S. Paolo f.l.m., where she was taken after having been beaten by the soldiers of Alaric, the leader of the Visigoths. Alaric eventually granted the two churches on both sides of the Tiber, that of Peter and that of Paul, the right of sanctuary, so that both became places of refuge; thus, even Alaric may have understood the sibling significance of the St. Peter and S. Paolo basilicae. See Geoffrey D. Dunn, “The Care of the Poor in Rome and Alaric’s Sieges,” in *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church: Poverty and Riches*, ed. Geoffrey D. Dunn, David Luckensmeyer, and Lawrence Cross (Strathfield, NSW: St. Paul’s Publication, 2009), 319–333, esp. 327–329. Not much is known about the late antique and early medieval monasteries in Rome. See Marios Costambeys and Conrad Leyser, “To Be the Neighbour of St. Stephen: Patronage, Martyr Cult, and Roman Monasteries, c. 600–c. 900,” in *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900*, ed. Kate Cooper and Julia Hillner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 262–287, and see additional bibliography there.

7. Vitaliano Tiberio, *Il mosaico di Santa Pudenziana a Roma: Il restauro* (Todi: Ediert, 2003); Claudia Angelelli, *La basilica titolare di S. Pudenziana: Nuove ricerche*, Monumenti di Antichità Cristiana 21 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2010); Hugo Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert: Der Beginn der abendländischen Kirchenbaukunst* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013), 145–151. Most recently, Matteo Braconi, *Il Mosaico del Catino Absidale di S. Pudenziana. La storia, i restauri, le interpretazioni* (Todi: Tau, 2017).

or referred to it in the context of other studies, on such diverse topics as private *tituli* in Rome, the sack of Rome in 410, or Augustine's *City of God*.⁸ For the art historian, whether studying early apse decoration in Rome⁹; iconographical topics like the representation of Jerusalem in the first millennium¹⁰; the visual roots of the notion of imperial presentations of Christ¹¹; or more controversial themes such as the representation of the Parousia¹²; this earliest extant apse mosaic has usually formed an initial point of departure. In the present study, however, looking specifically for the impact of Jerusalem on Roman art rather than at representations of Jerusalem per se, the apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana provides more of an interim perspective.

A long time had elapsed between the representation of the Temple spoils on the arch dedicated to Titus's triumph and deification in 81 and the picture of Jerusalem decorating an apse within a fifth-century church; between the representation of the old Jewish Jerusalem of the biblical past and what is usually understood as the new and contemporary Christian Jerusalem. Between these two end points, sometime in the fourth century, the relic of the True Cross arrived in

8. Ernst Dassmann, "Das Apsismosaik von S. Pudenziana in Rom: Philosophische, imperiale, und theologische Aspekte in einem Christusbild am Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts," *RQ* 65 (1970): 67–82; Fredric W. Schlatter, "The Text in the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana," *VC* 43 (1989): 155–165; Beat Brenk, "L'Anno 410 e il suo effetto sull'arte chiesastica a Roma," in *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del congresso internazionale di studi sulle chiese di Roma (IV–X secolo)*, Roma, 4–10 settembre 2000, ed. Federico Guidobaldi and Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archaeologia Cristiana, 2002), 1001–1018; Stefan Heid, *Kreuz–Jerusalem–Kosmos: Aspekte frühchristlicher Staurologie*, JAC Sup 31 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2001), 176–188.

9. Christa Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei: vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 12–15; Fabrizio Bisconti, "Absidi paleocristiane di Roma: Antichi sistemi iconografici e nuove idee figurative," in *Atti del VI Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico* (Venezia, 20–23 gennaio 1999), ed. Federico Guidobaldi and Andrea Paribeni (Ravenna: Girasole, 2000), 451–462.

10. Bianca Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of the Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium* (Rome: Herder, 1987), 63–71. Note also her identifications of the buildings; but see below, n. 15.

11. Dassmann, "Das Apsismosaik von S. Pudenziana in Rom"; Gerhard Steigerwald, *Purpurgewänder: biblischer und kirchlicher Personen als Bedeutungsträger in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, Hereditas 16 (Bonn: Borengässer, 1999), 26–30; cf. Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 101; and Ivan Foletti, "God from God: Christ as the Translation of Jupiter Serapis in the Mosaic of Santa Pudenziana," in *The Fifth Century in Rome: Art, Liturgy, Patronage*, ed. Ivan Foletti and Manuela Gianandrea (Rome: Viella, 2017), 11–29.

12. Yves Christe, "Gegenwärtige und endzeitliche Eschatologie in der frühchristlichen Kunst: die Apsis von Sancta Pudenziana in Rom," *Orbis scientiarum* 2, no. 1 (1972): 47–59; Josef Engemann, "Auf die Parusie Christi hinweisende Darstellungen in der frühchristlichen Kunst," *JAC* 19 (1976): 139–156; Geir Hellemo, *Adventus Domini: Eschatological Thought in 4th Century Apses and Catecheses* (Leiden: Brill, 1989); Anna-Orange Poilpré, *Maestas Domini: Une image de l'Église en occident V^e–IX^e siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 2005), 71–87.

Rome and was venerated there in a church called *Hierusalem* (S. Croce), within the complex of the Sessorian Palace. As I discussed in chapter 1, with the shrine dedicated to the Holy Cross, new Constantinian Jerusalem was represented in Rome through the relic itself, the name of the church, and possibly by its architectural arrangement. In contrast to these earlier relics, whether they be the Temple spoils depicted on the arch or the wooden fragment deposited within the chapel, the mosaic in S. Pudenziana adds a new dimension to these two earlier framings of Jerusalem in Rome: it displays a contemporary picture of the holy (Christian) constructions of earthly Jerusalem.

As innovative as the apse in S. Pudenziana may have been, its composition is strongly related to, and to some extent summarizes, the artistic formulae of Christian Rome produced in the second half of the fourth century—namely, that multitasking Roman couple, Peter and Paul. Within this coherent composition, the princely apostles do not stand out at first sight. Christ is seated on a gem-encrusted throne at the front, in the middle of a group of disciples assembled in a half circle. Majestic-looking, Christ is clad in golden pallium over a golden tunic with light blue clavi; his right hand is pointing to the side, while his left hand holds the open codex. Flanking the throne and heading the disciples on either side are Peter and Paul. Peter is being crowned by a female personification of *Ecclesia ex circumcisioe*, and Paul by a woman signifying *Ecclesia ex gentibus*; together, they represent the universal Church.¹³ A wall with a gabled roof, featuring the gates of Jerusalem (or the openings in the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre according to some scholars),¹⁴ stretches at the back of the disciples; behind the wall and above the roof, it is possible to see the city of Jerusalem, represented by a number of monuments with the hill of Golgotha at their center, right behind Christ's throne. Crowning the hill and continuing the central axis is a magnificent golden-gemmed cross, reaching to the colorful cloudy sky. I should emphasize that the cross, hill, Christ, and the throne forming the core of the composition are inseparable; there is no gap between them, and it is almost possible to draw a single contour line around them.

13. Usually identified as such following the inscriptions below the two women depicted on the west wall mosaic in the church of S. Sabina in Rome, where Peter and Paul were represented above each personification, respectively. For a different reading, see Fredric W. Schlatter, "The Two Women in the Mosaic of S. Pudenziana," *J ECS* 3 (1995): 1–24, with earlier bibliography; cf. Olaf Steen, "The Proclamation of the Word: A Study of the Apse Mosaic in S. Pudenziana, Rome," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 11 (1999): 85–113.

14. Wendy Pullan, "Jerusalem from Alpha to Omega in the Santa Pudenziana Mosaic," in *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Bianca Kühnel = *Jewish Art* 23/24 (Jerusalem: Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997/1998), 407–413; Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 232.

Fluttering above the city, on either side of the cross, are the four apocalyptic beasts of Revelation. A drawing by Ciacconio from the end of the sixteenth century shows the rest of the decorative program, which is now no longer visible: below Christ stood the Lamb of God on a hill with the dove of the Holy Spirit hovering above (Fig. 46).¹⁵

The hill of Golgotha and the cross erected over it designate the rest of the monuments behind the wall as Jerusalem. Without trying to decipher each and every building, it is possible to identify different types of constructions, such as a polygon with an opening in the roof on the right (the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher? The Church of the Ascension?), or a round building, covered by a dome, standing next to an oblong basilica on the left. Earthly Jerusalem is here built in heaven and represents the heavenly city with the Lamb of God below and the four beasts of Revelation above.¹⁶ In this combination the gemmed cross on Golgotha stands simultaneously for the historical cross of the crucifixion, the memorial cross on Golgotha, and the *praecursor* cross that is to foretell the Second Advent of Christ.¹⁷ There is no doubt that the cross and Christ are the main protagonists in the composition, tying together the heavenly realm with the earthly one.¹⁸ Peter and Paul are first and foremost represented here as Christ's disciples and as the leaders of the universal church. In addition, as part of the depiction of the Parousia, the two Roman martyrs represent the local advocates in front of the judge at the End of Days. However, a similar meaning could have been delivered without the panoramic view of Jerusalem in the back. The background of the composition of *Dominus legem dat*, consisting of clouds, a couple of palm trees, and a pair of architectural elements, as seen, for example,

15. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. 5407. Josef Engemann, *Deutung und Bedeutung frühchristlicher Bildwerke* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997), fig. 72.

16. Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem*, 66–68.

17. See the textual sources regarding the precursor cross in chapter 2, n. 50. Katharina Heyden, *Orientierung: Die westliche Christenheit und das Heilige Land in der Antike*, *Jerusalem Theologisches Forum* 28 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2014), 291–305, has argued that the monumental cross represents the golden cross erected on the Mount of Olives (and described by Jerome in 404 in his *Ep.* 108.12), flanked by the architectural construction representing Jerusalem and Bethlehem. On the face of it, her reading of the composition solves a chronological problem, because we first hear explicitly about a monumental cross erected on Golgotha by Emperor Theodosius II—thus, after the mosaic was made. I do not think, however, that the textual sources should be given more credit than the visual ones, thus my discussion treats the cross as the cross of Golgotha. For Jerome's *Letter* 108, see Hieronymus, *Epistulae* 71–120, ed. Isidor Hilberg, CSEL 55 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1918), 306–351, at 320; Andrew Cain, "Jerome's Epitaphium Paulae: Hagiography, Pilgrimage, and the Cult of Saint Paula," *J ECS* 18, no. 1 (2010): 105 n. 139. For representations of the cross on the Mount of Olives, see Galit Noga-Bonai, "Das Kreuz auf dem Ölberg: Mögliche frühe Bildbezeugungen," *RQ* 102 (2007): 141–154; and Noga-Bonai, "The Brass Cross in Munich and *Loca Sancta Eulogia*: Innovative Representation of Local Tradition," *Arte Medievale* n.s. 6, no. 1 (2007): 9–23.

18. Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem*, 69–71.

in S. Constanza, could have been an alternative, since the three main figures are already here. Why were the Jerusalemite monuments included in the setting?

The half-circle made by the disciples, headed by Peter and Paul, directs the viewer's attention toward Christ, Golgotha, and the cross above. The apostles, the two personifications of the church, and Christ enthroned, form the outlines of a triangle that stretches all the way to the top of the cross. A closer observation of the composition will discover the innovative synergy of power, formed by the cross on Golgotha with the enthroned Christ, as well as the similar gem design of the cross and throne. In the midst of the composition, in the midst of Jerusalem, the Throne of Christ is the Temple.¹⁹ The seated Christ is tantamount to the presence of God.²⁰ John 1:14 describes Christ's appearance: "And the word became flesh and dwelt among us and we saw his glory, the glory as of the Father's only Son, full of grace and truth." The Greek verb *skenoō* (dwell) is borrowed from the story of the Tabernacle in Exodus. It served to translate, even transliterate, the Hebrew word *shakan/mishkan*.²¹ The same verb is used in Revelation 21:3 to describe the assimilation of God with his people and his dwelling: "And I heard a loud voice from heaven saying, 'Behold, the Tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people. God Himself will be with them and be their God.'" Peter and Paul indicate that "His people" are the faithful Christians in Rome.

Christ enthroned is the new Tabernacle and/or the new Temple (John 2:21–22), and the shimmering gemmed cross on Golgotha seems like a Temple implement of the New Jerusalem, replacing the Menorah in the Holy of Holies. The

19. For the cross as symbolizing the throne of Christ see Heid, *Kreuz–Jerusalem–Kosmos*, 180, esp. n. 70. For Christ's body as the place of God's dwelling (John 2:21), see Alan R. Kerr, *The Temple of Jesus' Body: The Temple Theme in the Gospel of John*, JSNTSup 220 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002); Jörg Frey, "Temple and Identity in Early Christianity and in the Johannine Community: Reflections on the Parting of the Ways," in *Was 70 CE a Watershed in Jewish History?* ed. Daniel R. Schwartz and Zeev Weiss (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 447–507, at 482–485.

20. Completing a trinity with the dove and lamb, as seen in the drawing by Ciacconio.

21. Gary A. Anderson, "Towards a Theology of the Tabernacle and its Furniture," in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity*, ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 161–194, esp. 184. See also, Raymond Brown, *The Gospel According to John, I–XII*, AB 29 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 33–34. One may ask why the enthroned Christ in the midst of Jerusalem was not repeated in Roman art after S. Pudenziana. The answer may be explained in part by the transfer of the Temple metaphor from Christ to Mary, expressed clearly in representations from the sixth century onward, where her body is positioned as an integral element of the architectural façade of the church. One of the earliest, if not the earliest example of this phenomenon, though not in Rome, is in the mosaic decorating the Basilica Eufasianiana in Poreč. See Ann Bennett Terry and Henry Maguire, *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 63, figs. 97, 102. Pope Leo rejected the Temple metaphor as means for understanding the incarnation of Christ (*Sermon* 23.1), but supported that of Mary (*Sermon* 22.2). See Anderson, "Theology of the Tabernacle," 191–192.

new Temple is a Christian one, located in the heavenly Jerusalem and represented by the earthly one.²² The image of Christ enthroned as the Temple seems to determine the same thing we observed in the niche mosaic at S. Constanza (in chapter 1), only there it was implied through the use of the huts (*sukkoth* = *skene* in the Septuagint), and the gathering of all nations in Mt. Zion. In both mosaics the Temple participates in an eschatological scenario in which Peter and Paul have a special role as local advocates and mediators at the end of days.

We have seen (in chapter 2) Peter and Paul flanking the cross or a column topped by a Christogram (Figs. 25, 26). We have even seen them flanking an elevated Christogram erected on Golgotha (Fig. 27). We have not seen the two princely apostles in adoration of a combination made of enthroned Christ and gemmed cross on Golgotha. Apart from representing the two congregations that make the Church universal, their crowning by the two personifications in the mosaic suggest that they are not merely subordinate figures adoring the subjects on the central axis. As in the *Dld* niche mosaic at S. Costanza, the two apostles contribute the local Roman significance to the composition. They function the same way in the *Adoratio* compositions discussed in the second chapter. In S. Pudenziana, however, the situation is more complicated. Without the act of crowning that designates Peter and Paul among the rest of the apostles as the local martyrs, the representation of Golgotha and Jerusalem in the composition would have been a unique representation of Jerusalem with Golgotha in a Roman church. With the crowning, Jerusalem and Golgotha are here adorned by the sovereign representatives of the martyrs of Rome, and thus Rome of the martyrs. A visual conflation is made between the holy city in the east and the comparable one in the west. In S. Pudenziana, Rome embraces Jerusalem with the strong arms of its princely martyrs.

The positioning of Peter and Paul in the apse mosaic of S. Pudenziana early in the fifth century relies on their traditional representations, outlined and formulated throughout the fourth century. The juxtaposition of these figures with contemporary Jerusalem in the mosaic carries forward the representation of the Temple spoils on the Arch of Titus and the presence of the True Cross—that is, the Jerusalemite relics in Rome. Yet, the self-confidence of this composition in invoking the holy sites in Jerusalem relies mostly on their new monumental presence in the city of Rome, now that the basilica dedicated to Paul has been reconstructed. If we compare the Jerusalem-in-Rome picture in the apse at S. Pudenziana with the depiction on the Arch of Titus, it is not only the identity of Jerusalem that has changed. Rome has changed as well. We no

22. Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem*, 71.

longer have a victorious pagan Rome opposite a conquered, Jewish Jerusalem. Rather, a thoroughly Christian Rome, represented by the crowning of the two local martyrs and thanks to pontifical efforts in the previous generation, overshadows Christian Jerusalem.

CLAIMING THE GOD-BEARER: SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE

The multitasking function of Peter and Paul that we detected in S. Pudenziana, where they represent at one and the same time the local martyrs, heavenly advocates, and holy site(s), is to be found also in the first church in Rome dedicated to Mary. Here too, the representation of the apostles is not unrelated to the representation of Jerusalem, or rather the Holy Land.²³ *Ecclesia sanctae dei genetricis*, today S. Maria Maggiore, was built in Rome by Pope Celestin I (422–432) on top of the Esquiline hill, in close proximity to S. Pudenziana. The church was richly decorated with mosaics completed under Pope Sixtus III (432–440), and dedicated by him on August 5, 434. S. Maria Maggiore was a major basilica in comparison to other churches that had been built in Rome after the rebuilding of S. Paolo f.l.m., which, as we recall, was carried out under imperial patronage.²⁴ In addition to being the first basilica dedicated to Mary, it was also the first great basilica constructed under pontifical patronage. This combination has attracted much scholarly attention. In the first place, the enormous size of the basilica and the expensive material invested in it is usually seen as an expression of the new status of the bishop, rather than the no-longer-resident emperor, as the ruler of the Christian city (Fig. 47). And, second, the outstanding decorative program has been seen as a result of the recognition of Mary as God-bearer, *Theotokos* (*genetrix dei*), in the Council of Ephesus (431).²⁵

The entry on Pope Theodore (642–649) in the *Liber Pontificalis* records that Christ's manger was kept in the church.²⁶ Perhaps the relic was already there

23. The same phenomenon may also be seen, to some extent, on the inner wall above the entrance in S. Sabina, which is not discussed here. See Olaf Steen, "The Apse Mosaic of S. Pudenziana and Its Relation to the Fifth-Century Mosaics of S. Sabina and S. Maria Maggiore," in Guidobaldi and Guidobaldi, *Ecclesiae Urbis*, 3:1939–1948, figs. 3, 4. For the term "Holy Land," see Guy G. Stroumsa, "Christian Memories and Visions of Jerusalem in Jewish and Islamic Contexts," in *Where Heaven and Earth Meet: Jerusalem's Sacred Esplanade*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2009), 321–333.

24. See chapter 3 above.

25. Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 195–208, and bibliography there.

26. LP 75.2 in *Liber Pontificalis: Texte, Introduction, et Commentaire*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 2 vols. (Paris: Thorin, 1886), 1:331; Dale Kinney, "The *Praesepia* in Santa Maria in Trastevere and Santa Maria Maggiore," in *Marmoribus vestita: Miscellanea in onore di Federico Guidobaldi*, ed. Olof Brandt and Philippe Pergola (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archaeologia Cristiana, 2011), 777–795, esp. 785–786.

in the fifth century, because the basilica on top of the Esquiline functioned as Bethlehem in the stational liturgy of Rome; that is, it was here that the Nativity of Christ and other events related to Mary were celebrated.²⁷ Recently Sahner has taken up and further developed Richard Krautheimer's outline of a *Borgo*, a papal quarter extending from the Lateran to S. Croce in the northeast, S. Stefano Rotondo in the southwest, and Santa Maria Maggiore in the north.²⁸ This "sacred landscape," suggests Sahner, "was ultimately shaped by the topographical blueprint of the Holy Land, transforming Rome into a 'New Jerusalem.'" ²⁹ I will return to this topographical master plan in the next section, which focuses on S. Stefano Rotondo. Right now, it seems enough to say that the decorative program of the triumphal arch that precedes the apse in S. Maria Maggiore, which includes scenes from the childhood of Christ, supports the early affiliation of the basilica with Christ's birthplace. In the present discussion, after a brief description of the mosaics within the basilica, including the representation of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, I will emphasize the contribution of its artistic formulae to the change of approach toward Jerusalem detected here during the first half of the fifth century.³⁰

The decorative plan of S. Maria Maggiore included both scenes from the Life of Christ and representations of Old Testament narratives. The fifth-century mosaics are placed along the nave and on the triumphal arch leading to the apse. Notwithstanding reconstructions over the years, more than half of the original decorative program of the nave is in place, and the mosaic decoration of the triumphal arch is more or less complete.³¹ It is important to remember, however,

27. Christian C. Sahner, "Hierusalem in Laterano: Translation of Sacred Space in Fifth-Century Rome," in *New Jerusalem: Hierotopy and Iconography of Sacred Spaces*, ed. Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Indrik, 2009), 103–130, esp. 113–114. According to John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, OrChrAn228 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute Press, 1987; repr. 2002), 149, the connection between Santa Maria Maggiore and Bethlehem took place following the Council of Ephesus.

28. Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 56–58; Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 107–121.

29. Sahner, "Hierusalem in Laterano," in Lidov, *New Jerusalem*, 103, but see also Sible de Blaauw, who rejects the idea in de Blaauw, "Translations of the Sacred City between Jerusalem and Rome," in *The Imagined and Real Jerusalem in Art and Architecture*, ed. Jeroen Goudeau, Mariette Verhoeven, Wouter Weijers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 136–166. The first to draw a scheme of the Roman churches as stations representing sites in Jerusalem was Hartmann Grisar, *Das Missale im Lichte romischer Stadtgeschichte: Stationen, Perikopen, Gebräuche* (Freiburg: Herder, 1925), 4–6.

30. The present discussion is by no means an exhaustive attempt to cover all the details or all the scholarly literature that has been written on this elaborate decorative program.

31. Beat Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975); Johannes G. Deckers, *Der Alttestamentliche Zyklus von S. Maria Maggiore in Rom: Studien zur Bildgeschichte* (Bonn: Habelt, 1976).

that we do not know the entire cycle in the nave, and in particularly that we lack any knowledge about the decoration of the apse itself.³² As the first church in Rome built in honor of Mary, it is likely that she was represented there but it is impossible to know in what form and format.

The mosaics of the nave represent two Old Testament cycles, and are located within aedicules under the windows.³³ On the southern wall are scenes from the lives of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The first scene, located in close proximity to the altar, shows Abraham with Melchizedek, king of Salem, who offers him bread and wine (Gen. 14:18–20); this is followed by two scenes from the story of Abraham and Lot, one extant panel from the life of Isaac, and quite an elaborated cycle from the life of Jacob.³⁴ The mosaic cycle on the northern wall displays scenes from the lives of Moses and Joshua. This series begins with Moses's childhood in Egypt and continues with his public activity with Aaron, from the exodus from Egypt and the trek through the desert up to the scene of Moses's death. Toward the entrance of the church the series continues with Joshua's conquest of the land of Canaan.

As one approaches the apse, there is a change in atmosphere. The mosaics waiting at the end of the chronological and spatial journey of the people of Israel constructed along the nave are of a different character. From a distance it is possible to discern that the arch compositions become less crowded and more representative. The division into four registers, with comparable compositions framing the arch from left and right, recalls imperial triumphal arches; this design makes clear that the narratives on the arch preceding the apse are connected and yet ranked separately from the parallel walls of the nave.

The arch is decorated with scenes of Christ's childhood, taken mainly from the New Testament but with additions from apocryphal sources (Pl. 16). The broadest register above the arch outlines its apex and holds three compositions, beginning with the Annunciation to Mary and Joseph on the left. Between

32. During changes to the basilica made toward the end of the thirteenth century, the original apse was destroyed and a new transept, with a new apse, was constructed. Additional changes were made during the baroque period. See Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 204–206. The apse of S. Maria in Capua Vetere featured a representation of Mary and Child, dated to the first half of the fifth century (though now lost); Brandenburg suggested that the original apse of S. Maria Maggiore bore a similar representation. For the various hypotheses that have been offered, see Ursula Schubert, "Der politische Primatanspruch des Papstes dargestellt am Triumphbogen von Santa Maria Maggiore in Rom," *Kairos* 13 (1971): 194–226, at 197–198.

33. For the complete diagram and details of the scenes in the nave, see Deckers, *Der Alttestamentliche Zyklus von S. Maria Maggiore in Rom*.

34. This lack of correlation with the biblical sequence, in positioning the scene of Abraham and Melchizedek before the one with Lot, may be explained by its typological association to the mass held in the altar below. See Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, 54.

two architectural elements, Mary sits on a throne, crowned and clad in golden garments, and flanked by five angelic bodyguards. She is weaving the Temple curtain, as the Holy Spirit (as a dove) and the announcing angel hover above her. The fifth angel turns in full profile to Joseph, who stands at the right side. The second composition is located above the keystone of the arch. The *Hetoimasia*, with a footstool, is set within a clypeus that is flanked by Peter and Paul and the four beasts of the Apocalypse (Fig. 48). On the lavishly decorated throne waiting for Christ at the End of Days, there are a cross and a crown decorated with jewels in the same way as the empty throne. A scroll with seven seals is placed on the footstool (Rev. 5:1). An inscription runs beneath the clypeus and is framed by the apostle's feet: *XYSTVS EPISCOPVS PLEBI DEI* (Sixtus, Bishop of the People of God).

The register continues on the right side with the scene of Christ in the Temple (Luke 2:22–38). In front of an arcade background, Mary and Joseph bring their child to meet with the high priest Zechariah, who by his physiognomy actually resembles Peter. Behind him is a crowd of eleven people standing next to the Temple. The Temple's tympanum is decorated with a personification most likely representing *Dea Roma*.³⁵ On the other side of the Temple an angel is speaking to a sleeping Joseph, telling him to flee. Below the top register, three additional registers frame the two sides of the arch. The panel on the left side in the second register shows the Adoration of the Magi, with Mary represented once again as an imperial princess; the four angelic bodyguards now stand behind the enthroned child (Christ). The corresponding panel on the right side has a representation of Christ and his parents, escorted by angels, being greeted by a delegation headed by a Roman governor (?). The third register has on one side the Massacre of the Innocents and on the other the Magi before King Herod. Finally, the bottom register has a representation of a walled city inscribed as Jerusalem; a corresponding depiction on the right side is inscribed as Bethlehem (Figs. 49, 50). The walls of these cities are decorated with gems, and large golden crosses are mounted on their gates, where groups of six lamb looks upward. In Jerusalem it is possible to distinguish a domed building with a basilica next to it, perhaps the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre; while in Bethlehem, there seems to be more than one basilica. All in all, both cities are represented by various monuments and lavishly decorated walls.

35. Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, 21–23, with earlier bibliography. See also Rainer Warland, "The Concept of Rome in Late Antiquity Reflected in the Mosaics of the Triumphal Arch of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 17 (2003): 127–41.

Given that the church was decorated shortly after Mary was declared *Theotokos* by the Council of Ephesus, the representation of Mary dressed like an imperial matron in four of the scenes on the arch, and especially her depiction between the angelic bodyguards on the top register, has been taken to reflect her formal title.³⁶ Consequently, the enthroned child is the Son of God, who, as is shown by the Magi and the Roman ruler, achieves universal recognition. The Christological theme is also supported by the representation of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, signifying the places of Christ's incarnation and resurrection.³⁷ In addition to the Christological issues, the transition from the Old Testament scenes in the nave to the New Testament cycle on the triumphal arch has often been seen by scholars as reflecting the typological relationship between the Old and New Testaments, as constructed in the writings of the church fathers, especially Ambrose and Augustine.³⁸ The symbolic hierarchy recognized in the arrangement of scenes within the church space is detected also on the arch, between the group of motifs located at the apex and the pictures below.

It seems safe to assume that, although we do not know what theme decorated the apse, the group of motifs and the inscription above the arch keystone is the key to the decorative plan. One would perhaps expect to find the scene of Christ's Nativity at the top register on the arch, between the Annunciation to Mary on the right and the Presentation in the Temple on the left. The Nativity of Christ, however, is not represented.³⁹ The second epiphany is inserted instead, represented by the *Hetoimasia*.⁴⁰ The empty throne, the four beasts, the jeweled cross, and the scroll with seven seals, all taken from the future scenario of Christ's Second Coming, complete the historical narrative along the

36. Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, 50–52. For Mary as the Mother of God and as the Mother of Christ's Church, see Schubert, "Der politische Primatanspruch," 195–196, 217–219. For the possibility that Leo I took part in planning the decorative program, especially in relation to the figure of Mary, see Joanne Deane Sieger, "Visual Metaphor as Theology: Leo the Great's Sermons on the Incarnation and the Arch Mosaics at Santa Maria Maggiore," *Gesta* 26 (1987): 83–91.

37. Friedrich Gerke, *Spätantike und frühes Christentum* (Baden-Baden: Holle, 1967) 69–70; Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore*, 33–34; R. Farioli Campanati, "Jerusalem and Bethlehem in the Iconography of Church Sanctuary Mosaics," in *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897–1997: Traveling through the Byzantine Umayyad Period; Proceedings of the International Conference held in Amman, 7–9 April 1997*, ed. Michele Piccirillo and Eugenio Alliata (Jerusalem: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 1999), 173–177. But see Robin M. Jensen, "A Tale of Two Cities: Jerusalem and Bethlehem in the Mosaics of Early Christian Churches," *ARTS* (forthcoming), who interprets the cities as symbolizing the First and Second Covenants.

38. Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, 107–125.

39. If indeed the church was already serving liturgically as Bethlehem in the fifth century, perhaps the scene of the Nativity was represented elsewhere, for instance, decorating the shrine that held the relic of the manger. A late example of such a possibility may still be seen today in the twelfth-century mosaic that decorates the cave in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

40. Josef Engemann, "Auf die Parusie Christi," 149–151.

nave and its continuation in the christological narrative depicted on the arch, and enables the inclusion of the local advocates, Peter and Paul, into the eschatological context of the End of Days. If the church acted as a surrogate for Bethlehem, it was clever for the second epiphany to be at the highest point of the arch, bringing the chronological and spatial/ideological cycles toward their climax and conclusion.

The eschatological context may indicate an additional layer of interpretation for Jerusalem and Bethlehem, which would account for their location between the Old Testament narrative and the christological one. Their positioning may represent the prophecies of Micah 4:2, “for the Law shall go forth out of Sion, and the Word of the Lord out of Jerusalem,” and Micah 5:2, “But you, Bethlehem Ephrathah, Though you are little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of you shall come forth to Me the One to be Ruler in Israel, whose goings forth are from of old, from everlasting.”⁴¹ This is quoted in Matthew 2:6 as part of the Magi’s respond to the queries of Herod.

The *Hetoimasia*, flanked by Peter and Paul and accompanied by the episcopal inscription, brings under the aegis of Rome all the historical scenes that are pictured along the nave and on the arch. We can draw an imaginative triangle between the scene with the *Hetoimasia* at the top and Jerusalem and Bethlehem at the base of the arch; the configuration recalls that of the small gold-glass bottom in the Museo Sacro, with *Dld* at its apex, discussed in the first chapter (Pl. 1). In both cases we have an equilateral triangle, representing Rome at its zenith and Jerusalem and Bethlehem at its basis.⁴² This layout indicates that the mosaic sequence as a whole narrative should be read, not only as a collection of snapshots of biblical historic moments, arranged by chronology but also as representing a series of alternating historical and political spaces. The two Roman martyrs complete a mental map beginning with Canaan, via Egypt and the desert, in the nave, to the (Christian) Promised Land, represented by Jerusalem and Bethlehem on the arch: “In relation to Rome, they [Jerusalem and Bethlehem] appear to have been used as an icon of the Holy Land, that is, a Roman icon of the Holy Land.”⁴³

The location of Peter and Paul in the overall layout of S. Maria Maggiore is meant to suggest that they represent the most sacred goal in the pilgrimage

41. Galit Noga-Banai, *The Trophies of the Martyrs: An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries*, Oxford Studies in Byzantium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 56–57; cf. Katharina Heyden, *Orientierung*, 321–324.

42. Bianca Kühnel, “Jerusalem between Narrative and Iconic,” in *Jerusalem as Narrative Space*, ed. Gerhard Wolf and Annette Hoffmann (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 105–123, esp. 113–114; Galit Noga-Banai, “From a Cabin in the Sky to the Eternal City,” *JAC* 53 (2010): 140–152, esp. 147–149.

43. Kühnel, “Jerusalem between Narrative and Iconic,” 113–114.

ladder or sacred hierarchy: in the past, in the here and now, and in the future. They are the local protagonists of the decorative program, second only to Christ and Mary. The superiority of Rome is enhanced by the words selected for Sixtus's dedicatory inscription and the layout of the inscription in relation to the *Hetoimasia*. It is not Titus's *Senatus Populusque Romanus* but *Episcopus* and *Plebs Dei*.⁴⁴ *Episcopus* is placed right beneath the jeweled throne, making *cathedra Petri* the intermediary between the biblical past and the celestial chair of the future.⁴⁵ Rome at the top of the arch is represented as the Promised Land, the primary pilgrimage target in eschatological terms and context. This Promised Land, or "sacred landscape" also incorporates the cult of Mary.

The ambition of the Roman church to construct a site that would express the universal role that Rome wished to play in the cult of Mary is reflected in the location and size of S. Maria Maggiore. Rome was not exceptional in its construction of a monument to Mary; contemporary expressions abounded around the Mediterranean after Mary was reinvented in Ephesus when the council declared her God-bearer. Empress Pulcheria (399–453), the daughter of Emperor Arcadius and the sister of Emperor Theodosius II, is credited with the construction of three churches in honor of Mary in Constantinople.⁴⁶ From the fourth century, Palestine had had the Constantinian *memoriae* for the events in the life of Christ where Mary was involved, such as the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem; so there was a high potential that others would be erected there as well. The Armenian Lectionary of 438/9 records a feast of the *Theotokos* celebrated on August 15 at the second milestone from Jerusalem on the way to Bethlehem.⁴⁷ This may have been perceived as the site where, according to the *Protoevangelium of James* (second century), Joseph found a cave in which

44. Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 196.

45. Schubert, "Der politische Primatanspruch," 197, elaborates how the other words are either stretched or crowded in order for the word *Episcopus* to be placed directly beneath the throne; see also Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, 49.

46. She modeled her devotional life after the Virgin Mary and was involved in the Nestorian controversy that culminated in Ephesus. For the sources see Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Emperresses: Women and the Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 147–174; Stephen J. Shoemaker, "The Cult of Fashion: The Earliest Life of the Virgin and Constantinople's Marian Relics," *DOP* 62 (2008): 53–74, esp. 60–61. But see also Cyril Mango, "The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople," in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologicae Christianae: Split-Poreč*, ed. Nenad Cambi and Emilio Marin (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archaeologia Cristiana, 1998), 2:67–68, who attributes the foundation of the *Blachernai* and *Chalkoprateia* to Empress Verina rather than to Pulcheria.

47. Athanase Renoux, ed., *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121*, 2 vols., PO 35.1, 36.2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969–71), 1:166–172, 2:354–357.

Mary could give birth.⁴⁸ S. Maria Maggiore proves that Rome was not going to take chances. The city in which the spoils of the Temple had found their last home, and where relics of the True Cross were treasured in a church named *Hierusalem*, was going to be a Marian cult center.⁴⁹

Much has been written about the architecture of the church on top of the Esquiline, and even more about the architectural details, especially those selected for the nave. This was outlined by two rows of twenty-one columns, crowned with Ionic capitals. They carried a carved architrave of the classical order rather than arcades. Tall pilasters divided the upper walls of the nave flanking the series of aediculae made of stucco work, which contained the biblical mosaics mentioned above:

The building and its decoration strike one as a manifesto. Classical antiquity is to be reborn—the Ionic order, the pilasters and aedicule were last seen in architecture in the Forum of Trajan; and it is to be reborn in the Christian spirit apparent in the mosaics.⁵⁰

There is no doubt that there was an effort to attribute traditional antiquity to the church. Krautheimer's famous correlation "As Rome turned ever more Christian, the Church turned Roman"⁵¹ is certainly in place here. The outcome, however, was more than just another great Roman construction. The architectural elements combined with the decorative program granted antiquity to the church and thus authenticated it as part of the series of Constantinian basilicae

48. *Protoevangelium of James*, 17–18. See Stephen J. Shoemaker, "Christmas in the Qur'an: The Qur'anic Account of Jesus' Nativity and Palestinian Local Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 28 (2003): 11–39, esp. 22–28; see also n. 92 below on the Church of the *Kathisma*.

49. The extant collections of the oldest icons of Mary support the significance of her cult in Rome throughout the Middle Ages. See Gerhard Wolf, "Icons and Sites: Cult Images of the Virgin in Medieval Rome," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 23–50; John Osborne, "Images of the Mother of God in Early Medieval Rome," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium; Studies Presented to Robin Cormack*, ed. Antony Eastmond and Liz James (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 135–156; Osborne, "The Cult of Maria Regina in Early Medieval Rome," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 21 (2008): 95–106. For the meaningful and multifunctional cult of Mary in Constantinople, see Averil Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: A City Finds Its Symbol," *JTS* 29 (1978): 79–108; Cameron, "The Virgin's Robe: An Episode in the History of Early Seventh-Century Constantinople," *Byzantion* 49 (1979): 42–56; Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress: The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (London: Routledge, 1994); Shoemaker, "Cult of Fashion."

50. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, 46–49, on 49; Cf. Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 203. For the key role in the development of early Christian architecture that Krautheimer attributed to S. Maria Maggiore, see now Sible de Blaauw, "Richard Krautheimer and the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore," in Foletti and Gianandrea, *Fifth Century in Rome*, 99–104.

51. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, 39.

built over the tombs of the martyrs. It was as if S. Maria Maggiore had always been there, a specific topographic site at home in the Roman list of sacred places.

A few years after the dedication of S. Maria Maggiore (434), Leo I (440–461), who had probably been involved in the planning stages of the church's decorative program, delivered a sermon (*Sermon* 82) on the feast day of Peter and Paul, June 29, 441. In it, he described the apostles with these words: "yet these are the men who raised you to this glory . . . , as a holy nation, a people set apart, a priestly and royal city" (*Sermon* 82.1).⁵² Leo was apparently describing Rome to his community as if they themselves were in Jerusalem.⁵³ With the newly decorated S. Maria Maggiore in mind, he could certainly draw that parallel. While these statements may be open to other interpretations, he is very clear on this point in *Sermon* 85, delivered on the feast of S. Lawrence, August 10, most likely at the saint's *memoria* on the Via Tiburtina between the years 446 and 461.⁵⁴ Lawrence was a deacon (under Bishop Xystus II, 257–258) who had been martyred in 258 during the persecutions of the Emperor Valerian, and who became one of Rome's most venerated martyrs.⁵⁵ Leo proclaimed the significance of the local deacon by recalling the Jerusalemite one:

Let us glory in the Lord who is wonderful in his saints, in whom he established a protection and an example for us. He has so illuminated his own glory through the whole world that, from east to west, where the brilliance of the lights of his deacons shines, as Jerusalem has become renowned for Stephen, so Rome has become renowned for Lawrence. We believe that we are helped by his prayer and his patronage without ceasing.⁵⁶

52. "*Isti sunt qui te ad hanc gloriam prouexerunt . . . , ut gens sancta, populus electus, ciuitas sacerdotalis et regia.*" *Sancti Leonis Magni Romani Pontificis Tractatus Septem et Nonaginta*, ed. Antonius Chavassee, Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina 138A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), 509.

53. See Hugh Nibley, "Christian Envy of the Temple," *JQR* n.s. 50, no. 2 (1959): 97–123, esp. 117. Note John Chrysostom on the irrelevance of Jerusalem and its replacement by the martyrs' shrines. See, "Christian Envy," 113–114; and Christine Shepardson, "Controlling Contested Places: John Chrysostom's *Adversus Iudaeos* Homilies and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy," *J ECS* 15, no. 4 (2007): 483–516. Recently on *Sermon* 82, see Michele R. Salzman, "Leo's Liturgical Topography: Contestations for Space in Fifth-Century Rome," *JRS* 103 (2013): 1–25, esp. 10–11; George E. Demacopoulos, *The Invention of Peter: Apostolic Discourse and Papal Authority in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 44–45.

54. *Sermon* 85.4 (PL 54:435); Salzman, "Leo's Liturgical Topography," 15–16; Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 147. For S. Lorenzo f.l.m., see Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 91–93, and the Afterword below.

55. Most recently, see Michael Mulryan, "Movement and the Hero: Following St. Lawrence in Late Antique Rome," in *The Moving City: Processions, Passages, and Promenades in Ancient Rome*, ed. Ida Ostenberg, Simon Malmberg, Jonas Bjørnebye (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), chap. 14.

56. "Gloriemur in Domino, qui est 'mirabilis in sanctis suis,' in quibus nobis et praesidium constituit et exemplum, atque ita per universum mundum clarificavit gloriam suam, ut a solis ortu usque ad occasum leviticorum luminum coruscante fulgore, quam clarificata est Hierosolima Stephano, tam illustris fieret Roma Laurentio. Cuius oration et patrocinio adiuuari nos sine cessatione confidimus."

COMPLETING THE CIRCUIT: S. STEFANO ROTONDO

Leo I's speech on Saint Lawrence's festival suggests that at the time of his preaching in celebration of the local deacon and martyr, Rome was still missing Stephen's relics. Having himself served as a deacon prior to his episcopal career, he probably would not have missed the opportunity to mention the duplicate possession and intercessory power of relics of Lawrence and the (Jerusalemite) deacon and proto-martyr Stephen. The relics of the first martyr had been found in Palestine in 415, and a decade later, shrines had already been devoted to him in North Africa.⁵⁷ In Jerusalem, a basilica had been built in his honor in 439, not far from the northern gate; even earlier, his relics had been deposited in oratories within monasteries on the Mount of Olives, by the Roman aristocrat Melania the Younger (ca. 385–439).⁵⁸ Apparently, however, as may be understood from Leo's remarks, there had been a relative delay in the translation of Stephen's relics to Rome. To contextualize the cult of Stephen in Rome, it is necessary to relate some details of the well-known story of the *revelatio*, *inventio*, and *translatio* of Stephen's relics.⁵⁹

Lucian, a parish priest of Caphar (village) Gamla, had three revelations during December 415, in which Gamaliel (Rabbi Gamaliel, Paul's teacher, Acts 22:3), appeared to him, to tell him where in Gamla he could find the tomb of the first deacon of Jerusalem, the proto-martyr Stephen.⁶⁰ The biblical narrative

Sancti Leonis Magni Romani Pontificis Tractatus Septem et Nonaginta, ed. Antonius Chavassee, CCSL 138A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), 537; translated by Jane P. Freeland and Agnes J. Conway, *St. Leo the Great: Sermons* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 367.

57. Yvette Duval, *Loca sanctorum Africae: Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IV^e au VII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1982), 2:624–632.

58. Melania the Younger left her senatorial household in Rome, together with her grandmother, Melania the Elder (ca. 341–410), in favor of monastic life in Jerusalem. See most recently, Catherine M. Chin and Caroline T. Schroeder, eds., *Melania: Early Christianity through the Life of One Family* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017). For the deposition of the relics and her devotion to St. Stephen, see Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae*, 48, 64; translated into English by Elizabeth A. Clark, *Gérontius: The Life of Melania the Younger* (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1984), 60–61, 76, with commentary on 115–119. See also Clark, "Claims on the Bones of Saint Stephen: The Partisans of Melania and Eudocia," *Church History* 51 (1982): 141–156. For the sources on Melania the Younger, see also Timothy D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 249–252.

59. Sonja Vanderlinden, "Revelatio Sancti Stephani (BHL 7850–6)," *Revue des études byzantines* 4 (1946): 178–217; François Bovon, "The Dossier on Stephen, the First Martyr," *HTR* 96 (2003): 279–315; Bovon, "Beyond the Book of Acts: Stephen, the First Christian Martyr, in Traditions Outside the New Testament Canon of Scripture," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 32 (2005): 93–107; Carole C. Burnett, "A Westward Slant: Avitus' Latin Translation of Lucian on the Inventio of Stephen's Relics," *Studia Patristica* 43 (2006): 339–344.

60. For the possible identifications of Gamla, see Antonio Charbel, "Fonti e sussidi per lo studio dell'identificazione di caphargamla con Beit-Jimāl," *Salesianum* 40 (1978): 911–944; Yoram Tsafrir, Lea Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani—Iudaea Palaestina: Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods, Maps and Gazetteer* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities,

of Stephen's false accusation, speech, and execution (Acts 6–7) does not say if, where, or by whom he was buried. The missing details are supplied by these revelations to Lucian. Gamaliel told the priest that he himself had buried Stephen; later, he buried Nicodemus (John 3:1, 7:50) and his own son Abibas in the same spot; finally, he (Gamaliel) had been buried there as well.

The *revelatio* is followed by the *inventio*. Gamliel orders Lucian to hurry to John, Bishop of Jerusalem (who is at that time participating in a church council in Diospolis), and to ask him to open the tomb, which holds four caskets with their bones inside.⁶¹ They find the caskets, and the mystery regarding the corpse of S. Stephen is solved. On December 26 of that year, the holy corpse of the proto-martyr was translated to the Zion Church in Jerusalem.

The story made headlines around the Mediterranean. This time, *Jerusalem* was broadcasting antiquity and authenticity—with the help of Avitus, a priest and translator originally from Braga (Portugal), who convinced Lucian to tell him in detail all about the revelations and their aftermath. Lucian related his visions in Greek; Avitus translated his account into Latin and sent the story, together with tiny pieces of the relics that he had managed to acquire, back to Portugal with Orosius, a fellow priest from Braga. Orosius never made it back to Braga, however, and the relics of Stephen were left on the island of Minorca in 418. From there, they passed through North Africa, where they were welcomed in Uzalis (among other places) by Bishop Evodius, Augustine's disciple and friend.⁶² In 424, they arrived in Hippo. The stories of the miracles attributed to the relics while in North Africa are told by Augustine.⁶³ In Minorca, the *adventus* of the relics was said to have led to the conversion of most of the Jews.⁶⁴

1994), 98; Leah Di Segni, "On the Development of Christian Cult Sites on Tombs of the Second Temple," *Aram* 18–19 (2006–2007): 381–401, esp. 385. For Rabbi Gamaliel, see Oded Irshai, "Stephen and Rabbi Gamaliel," in *Ut Videant et Contingant: Essays on Pilgrimage and Sacred Space in Honour of Ora Limor*, ed. Yitzhak Hen and Iris Shagrir (Ra'anana: Open University of Israel, 2011), 49–69, esp. 59–61 (in Hebrew).

61. The council in Diospolis (Lod) dealt with the Pelagian heresy. See Edward D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 218–220; Andrew Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews: The Holy Land and Christian Empire in Late Antiquity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 181–185.

62. Victor Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1980), 245–279; Duval, *Loca Sanctorum Africae*, 624–632.

63. *De Civitate Dei* 22.8, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CCL 48 (1955), 821–827; Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 104–105, with bibliography; Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 408–418; Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, reliques*, 165–169, 242–244, 254–279.

64. See Scott Bradbury, ed. and trans., *Severus of Minorca: Letter on the Conversion of the Jews* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New York: Doubleday, 2008), 357–361.

In Jerusalem, December 26, the day of the *translatio* to the Zion church, became an annual festival.⁶⁵ In 439, a second *translatio* took place when the relics were taken from Mount Zion to their new permanent residence, a basilica built by the Empress Eudocia under the supervision of Bishop Juvenal.⁶⁶ The new basilica, located north of the Neapolis Gate (afterward, S. Stephen's Gate) was dedicated by Cyril of Alexandria, who came especially for the occasion at Eudocia's invitation.⁶⁷ The church was intended to mark and commemorate the site of the stoning of Stephen.⁶⁸ The same year, Eudocia translated some of the relics to Constantinople; these were later deposited there in the Church of S. Lawrence.⁶⁹ When she returned to Palestine in 455, the Empress either completed S. Stephen's basilica or added a new edifice (or relic?), because the building was rededicated in 460.⁷⁰

The reputation of Stephen's relics, enhanced by the accompanying narrative, and the impetus to erect churches in his honor, must also have reached Rome; this is especially likely if we recall that it was Melania the Younger, a descendant of a Roman aristocratic family, who deposited his relics in two oratories, within male and female monasteries, on the Mount of Olives.⁷¹ Was Leo I engaging in wishful thinking when he praised the local glory of S. Lawrence while thinking about Stephen? He had restored the church of S. Paolo f.l.m. after it was damaged in 443 with the support of the imperial family (Valentinian III and his mother Galla Placidia)⁷²; the presence of Stephen's relics would have

65. Renoux, *Le codex Arménien Jérusalem* 121, 2:176.

66. Ernst Honigman, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," *DOP* 5 (1950): 211–279, esp. 225–227.

67. John Rufus, *The Life of Peter the Iberian*, 33. For an English translation, see John Rufus: *The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus*, ed. and trans. Cornelia B. Horn and Robert R. Phenix Jr. (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 66–67.

68. For a collection of the ancient sources as well as the modern debate concerning the place of the stoning, see François Bovon, "Dossier on Stephen."

69. Marcellinus, *Chronicon*, a.439.2, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH AA xi (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), 80; Clark, "Claims on the Bones of St. Stephen," 151; Kenneth G. Holum and Gary Vikan, "The Trier Ivory: 'Adventus' Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen," *DOP* 33 (1979): 113–133.

70. See n. 58 above on the additional shrines to Stephen prepared in the 430s on the Mount of Olives by Melania the Younger. As a result of the 1959–1964 excavations in the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, a chapel within the ambulatorium has been identified as one of the chapels Melania constructed for the relics of Stephen. The other was an oratory in a female monastery. But see Vered Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled: The Early Byzantine Concentric Churches of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 83–85, who rejects the identification.

71. In addition to Melania's circle of friends, and contrary to the silence of the sources mentioned in chapter 3, which belies the idea of any communication between Pope Damasus and Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem, there was continuous correspondence between Juvenal of Jerusalem, Cyril of Alexandria, Sixtus III, and, later, Leo I of Rome. See Honigman, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," esp. 233–261.

72. Galla Placidia herself built a church dedicated to Stephen in Ravenna. See Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *Agnellus of Ravenna: The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 138.

added to the Roman circuit another episode in Paul's biography. Stephen had encountered Paul before the latter converted, when the great missionary was still pursuing Christians.⁷³ Moreover, Stephen's death initiated the phenomenon of Christian martyrdom, of which Rome was so proud.

According to an early medieval legend, the relics of Stephen actually arrived in Rome from Constantinople during the episcopacy of Pelagius II (579–590).⁷⁴ A seventh-century source, *De locis sanctis*, records that Rome kept one of the stones with which Stephen had been killed.⁷⁵ Such a stone, like a relic of the True Cross, could have been seen as a proxy both for the event and for the Jerusalemite site of the martyrdom. Although we have no earlier written account of the relics' appearance in Rome, Stephen's cult was not foreign to the city during the second half of the fifth century. The *Liber Pontificalis* informs us in the first sentence of the entry for Leo I (which covers the years 440–461) that Demetria, an aristocrat of the Anicii family, donated a private villa on the Via Latina in order to establish a church for the proto-martyr.⁷⁶ Shortly after this first church was built on the Via Latina, another larger church was constructed on the Celian Hill (Coelio Monte)—a development that suggests the need to accommodate an increasing number of pilgrims, due to the popularity of the site.⁷⁷

The relatively long wait for the relics (if indeed they came to Rome prior to the episcopacy of Pelagius II) was more than made up for by the new church,

73. Acts 7:58–8:1.

74. For the medieval records of the *Translatio sancti Stephani* from Constantinople to Rome, see Costambeys and Leyser, "To Be the Neighbour of St Stephen," in Cooper and Hillner, *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage*, esp. 279–282.

75. *De locis sanctis martyrum, quae sunt foris civitatis Romae. ecclesiae quae intus Romae habentur*, in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, vol. 2, ed. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1942), 101–131, on 109; Costambeys and Leyser, "To Be the Neighbour of St. Stephen," in Cooper and Hillner, *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage*, 279.

76. LP 47.1 in Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:238; Steffen Diefenbach, *Römische Erinnerungsräume: Heiligenmemoria und kollektive Identitäten im Rom des 3. bis 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 370, 399. For the church, see Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 257–258; for Demetria, see Anne Kurdock, "Demetrias ancilla dei: Anicia Demetrias and the Problem of the Missing Patron," in Cooper and Hillner, 190–224; The *Liber Pontificalis* also records that Leo's successor, Bishop Hilarius (461–468), built oratories for Stephen at S. Lorenzo and in the Lateran; his successor, Bishop Simplicius (468–483), dedicated a basilica for Stephen on the Via Tiburtina, in his turn. See LP 48.12 (Hilarius), 49.1 (Simplicius), in Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis* 1:245 (with a note on p. 247), 249. For the cult of Stephen in early medieval Rome, see Costambeys and Leyser, "To Be the Neighbour of St. Stephen," in Cooper and Hillner, *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage*, esp. 277–285.

77. On the Christianization of the Celian Hill, see Lucrezia Spera, "Characteristics of the Christianization of Space in Late Antique Rome: New Considerations a Generation after Charles Pietri's *Roma Christiana*," in *Cities and Gods: Religious Space in Transition*, ed. Ted Kaizer et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 121–142, esp. 121–127.

S. Stefano Rotondo, a large, concentric building capable of welcoming the increasing flow of pilgrims (Fig. 51). It is likely that such an impressive edifice received imperial support, and no doubt corresponded with Leo's ambitions for Rome;⁷⁸ but he died in 461, and did not live to see what is considered the last antique monument in Rome. It was Bishop Simplicius who eventually dedicated the rotunda on the Celian Hill.

The concentric construction on the Celian Hill was built over an earlier Mithraeum, around a cruciform pivot that bisected a double ambulatory (Figs. 52, 53). Twenty-two columns supporting a concentric entablature marked the center of the cross. The four transept arms that gave shape to the cruciform pivot stretched to the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest. One could enter the transept arms from either the ambulatory arcade or from the inner (first) ambulatory circle. The walls of the transept were slightly higher than those of the double ambulatory; this difference could be seen in the heights of the roofing of the church. Thus, a bird's-eye view would clearly show a cross framed within a circle.

S. Stefano Rotondo was the first concentric church with ambulatory(ies) to be built in Rome. Moreover, it was the first and only ambulatory church in Rome to embrace an intersecting cross shape.⁷⁹ Naturally the selection of this plan has intrigued the scholarly world, which has looked for comparisons, models, and possible meanings. One possible local model for the circular construction with ambulatory is the mausoleum of S. Costanza on the Via Nomentana; but a more appealing choice for a precursor architectural plan is the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (Fig. 6). In fact, it has been noted that some measurements of the Roman building match those of its Jerusalemite predecessor.⁸⁰ The Jerusalemite model supplies a possible explanation for the design

78. Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 222.

79. Crosses were also incorporated in the shape of the windows in the outer façades of the transept arms, and in the decorative patterns used in the pavement of the church. See Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 217, 336.

80. Richard Krautheimer, "Santo Stefano rotondo a Roma e la chiesa del Santo Sepolcro a Gerusalemme," *RAC* 12 (1935): 51–103; in English in Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 69–106, esp. 94–96. Krautheimer moderated and modified his view that the rotunda in Rome was a copy of the one in Jerusalem in *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 107 n. 11, and even more decidedly in his last article, "Santo Stefano Rotondo: New Conjectures," *Romisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 29 (1994): 1–18. A different approach was taken by Hugo Brandenburg, "S. Stefano Rotondo, der letzte Grossbau der Antike in Rom: Die Typologie des Baues, die Ausstattung der Kirche, die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung des Kirchenbaues und seiner Ausstattung," in *Santo Stefano Rotondo in Roma: Archeologia, storia dell'arte, restauro; Atti del converge internazionale Roma 10–13 ottobre 1996*, ed. Hugo Brandenburg and József Pál (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2001), 35–65; see esp. 36–37, where he suggests that the Constantinian cathedral of Antioch provided a model for both S. Stephen and

of the cruciform pivot encircled by an ambulatory; the ideal model for the church dedicated to the protomartyr would have been the mausoleum of Christ, located next to Golgotha, the site of Jesus's martyrdom.

A visual confirmation of the association of the church in Rome with the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was suggested by the decoration of the church in the second half of the seventh century. The *Liber Pontificalis* records that Pope Theodore I (642–649) translated the relics of the martyrs Primus and Felicianus from the catacomb of S. Alessandro on the Via Nomentana to the church of the protomartyr Stephen.⁸¹ The bishop added an apse niche to the northeast arm of the transept, where he deposited the relics. The apse mosaic, still in situ, represents Primus and Felicianus, their names inscribed, flanking a monumental *crux gemmata* (Pl. 15). The martyrs and the cross stand on a swath of green meadow with red and white flowers. In the background, shining golden tesserae fill the surface. The cross is topped by a medallion with a (restored) portrait of Christ and above him, emerging from the heavens, the hand of God is holding a martyr's crown. The inscription below the composition refers directly to it: "You look upon a golden roof with heavenly apex and a starry face shining with brilliant light."⁸²

At the beginning of the chapter, I discussed the mosaic decorating the apse in S. Pudenziana where a *crux gemmata* is erected on Golgotha, within a Jerusalemite architectural landscape and surrounded by the heavenly sky with the four beasts of the apocalypse. In addition, the cross in S. Pudenziana was set above an enthroned Christ flanked by Peter, Paul, and the rest of the apostles. Although there is no sky embracing the jeweled cross in S. Stefano Rotondo, and there are no apocalyptic creatures, the gold background and the adoring martyrs imply that this is also a heavenly cross. Like the one in S. Pudenziana, here, too, the jeweled cross recalls the historical cross of the Crucifixion, the monumental memorial *crux gemmata* erected on Golgotha, and the cross foretelling Christ's return. Like Peter and Paul, Primus and Felicianus, flanking the Jerusalemite multipurpose cross, are the local advocates at the end of days.

The inclusion of the local martyrs, Primus and Felicianus, takes us back to a point even earlier than the mosaic of S. Pudenziana. It takes us back to the second half of the fourth century, to the representations of the Adoration of the

the Mausoleum of S. Costanza. Nonetheless, in his 2013 revised edition of *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, on p. 213, he mentions the rotunda in Jerusalem as an equally plausible model for S. Stefano Rotondo.

81. LP 75.5, in Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:332.

82. ASPICIS AURATUM CAELESTI CULMINE TECTUM ASTRIFERUMQUE MICANS PRAECLARO LUMINE VULTUM. *ICUR* 2, 1:152, 440; English translation by Erik Thunø, *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome: Time, Network, and Repetition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 214.

Cross by Peter and Paul, discussed in chapter 2. Unlike these earlier instances, however, the seventh-century *crux gemmata* in S. Stefano is not topped by a Christogram referring to the Labarum of Constantine, but rather by the *imago Christi*, a clipeus of Christ.⁸³ Notwithstanding the imperial visual connotation, as far as the evidence testifies, the earliest examples combining a *crux gemmata* with the portrait of Christ are Palestinian.⁸⁴

Bishop Theodorus I, so says the *Liber Pontificalis*, was Greek, the son of Theodore Bishop of Jerusalem.⁸⁵ This biographical detail may be enough to support direct visual associations between the group of motifs depicted in the apse of S. Stefano and more or less contemporary Palestinian representations of a cross topped by the face of Christ. There is also an additional possibility of direct influence. As it happened, Pope Gregory I (590–604) had sent sacred objects (“blessings,” *eulogiae*) to the Lombard queen Theodolinda, including a group of lead-alloy flasks (*ampullae*) produced in Palestine.⁸⁶ The *ampullae* were made to hold holy oil from the holy sites. They were formed by molds so they were probably produced in large numbers. Their decorative plans display visual references to the biblical sites. One of the most repeated combinations, designating Golgotha, is a cross with Christ’s portrait over it.⁸⁷ It is seen in various compositions relating to the Crucifixion. The variety attests to the popularity of the combination, which in turn implies a monumental prototype.⁸⁸

83. Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 107–109.

84. Note, for example, the onyx gem mentioned in chapter 2, n. 58. It is possible that the thirteenth-century apse mosaic in S. Giovanni in Laterano, showing the bust of Christ hovering above a jeweled cross, is to some extent a restoration and an alteration of the early Christian mosaic. See recently, Paola Mathis, “L’antica abside della basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano e la questione del deambulatorio,” *OPUS: Quaderno di storia dell’Architettura e restauro* 7 (2003): 19–38; Geraldine Leardi, “Il volto di Cristo nella perduta abside di San Giovanni in Laterano,” in *L’orizzonte tardoantico e le nuove immagini* 312–468, ed. Maria Andaloro (Milan: Jaca Books, 2006), 358–361; Monica Morbidelli, *L’abside di S. Giovanni in Laterano: Una vicenda controversa* (Roma: Viella, 2010).

85. *LP* 75.1, in Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:331.

86. André Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza, Bobbio)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1958); Josef Engemann, “Palästinische Pilgerampullen im F.J. Dölger Institut in Bonn,” *JAC* 16 (1973), 5–27; more recently, see for example, Jaś Elsner, “Replicating Palestine and Reversing the Reformation: Pilgrimage and Collecting at Bobbio, Monza, and Walsingham,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 9 (1997), 117–130; Gary Vikan, “Byzantine Pilgrimage Artidem,” in *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium*, ed. Linda Safran (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 229–263; Josef Engemann, “Palästinische Pilgerampullen: Erstveröffentlichungen und Betrachtungen,” *JAC* 45 (2002): 153–169.

87. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*; Kühnel, *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem*, 97, figs. 17, 18.

88. A variation in which the medallion of Christ is at the intersection of the cross arms was part of the composition decorating the Chapel of Adam at Golgotha. This assumption is based on the reconstruction of the Irish monk Adamnan in his *De locis Sanctis*, dated 698. See Christa Belting-Ihm,

The precious mementos from Palestine must have reached Rome before they were sent by Gregory the Great to Theodolinda. Thus, here is a direct visual source from Jerusalem that was known in Rome and should not be underestimated. Portable art was an important vehicle for distributing the visual formulas of the *loca sancta*.⁸⁹ If we take account of the Jerusalemite biographical note on Bishop Theodore in the *Liber Pontificalis*, it is far less surprising to find a Palestinian combination of motifs during his episcopacy.⁹⁰ It is significant to find this combination intentionally placed in the northeast arm of S. Stefano Rotondo. The figures of the two local martyrs on both sides of the Jerusalemite cross give a visual expression to the act of translation that Theodore initiated. He brought the two local martyrs from the suburb of Rome to the church inside the city dedicated to the first martyr, Stephen. He combined under one roof the cult of the first (Jerusalem) martyr with that of the Roman martyrs. The combination of figures and motifs selected for the decoration indicate that at least in the seventh century, S. Stefano Rotondo corresponded with Jerusalem's artistic configurations.

Following this leap to the seventh century, let us return to the second half of the fifth century and the building of S. Stefano. If the church in Jerusalem was either the incentive for the innovative plan on the Celian Hill, or just one of its sources of inspiration, this would have not been the first occasion for such motivation. As we saw in chapter 1, S. Croce in Gerusalemme was probably the leading pioneer in this respect (Fig. 5). There, however, the stimulus was another part of the Holy Sepulchre configuration, that of the basilica of the Martyrium in conjunction with Golgotha, rather than the rotunda itself. It is

Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei: Vom 4. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts (Wiesbaden, 1960; repr. Stuttgart, 1992), 90–91; Galit Noga-Banai, "Das Kreuz auf dem Ölberg," 141–154; Noga-Banai, "Brass Cross in Munich," 9–23.

89. Christa Belting-Ihm, "Theophanic Images of Divine Majesty in Early Medieval Italian Church Decoration," in *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms, and Regional Traditions*, ed. William Tronzo (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1989), 43–59, esp. 51–52; Bianca Kühnel, "The Holy Land as a Factor in Christian Art," in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 463–504; Ernst Kitzinger, "Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 36 (1988): 51–73.

90. As we recall, the *Liber Pontificalis* entry under Theodore recorded the presence of Christ's manger in Santa Maria Maggiore; see n. 26 above. In addition, Theodore (together with his predecessor, John IV) was involved in another unique representation in Rome, placed in the oratory of S. Venanzio in the Lateran Baptistery. The apse mosaic there represents Mary at the center, flanked by Peter and Paul and a group of martyrs in the lower zone, and the bust of Christ between two angels in the upper zone. This composition, as noticed by Belting-Ihm, recalls those of the Eastern Ascensions, another popular scene seen in various instances on the *ampullae*. Belting-Ihm, "Theophanic Images of Divine Majesty," 52. For the Eastern composition of the Ascension, see above, chapter 3, n. 129.

the Roman choice of the rotunda as an architectural strategy in the second half of the fifth century that I wish to consider next, in the context of the widespread use in Palestine of the concentric plan with ambulatory.

Concentric churches with ambulatories, independent in the sense that they were neither mausolea nor adjacent to basilicae, were built in and outside of Jerusalem during the fifth century. The first of these was the Church of the Ascension on top of the Mount of Olives, built by a Roman matron named Poemenia in the last decades of the fourth century. This circular church was located so close to the Constantinian church of the Eleona that it can perhaps be considered to be located in the same complex.⁹¹ But the next two churches were built at the time of Bishop Juvenal (422–458), and these were completely independent. The *Kathisma* of the *Theotokos*, built by the widow Hikelia at the third milestone from Jerusalem on the way to Bethlehem, was inaugurated on June 15, 460 (Fig. 54).⁹² It was octagon-shaped, with an ambulatory; it enveloped a rock where, according to tradition, Mary had rested on her way to Bethlehem.⁹³ Another concentric church was built over Mary's tomb in the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and another octagonal church with ambulatory dedicated to the *Theotokos* was built on Mount Gerizim, probably in the last quarter of the fifth century.⁹⁴

Whether or not the church on the Celian Hill was modeled after the concentric ambulatory built around the tomb of Christ, the selection of this plan associated the church in Rome with a series of contemporary site-specific constructions built in and around Jerusalem over holy sites. It is important to note that the church of S. Stephen in Jerusalem, constructed at the site of the stoning, was a basilica! The circular constructions in Jerusalem were reserved for holy sites related to Christ and Mary. Thus, the concentric ambulatory design

91. See most recently Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled*, 78–116, including discussion of the date and of the identification of Poemenia.

92. Theodore of Petra, *The Life of Theodosius (VTh)*; *Der Heilige Theodosius*, ed. Hermann Usener, *Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrillos* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1890), 13.20–14.4; Cyril of Scythopolis, *The Life of Theodosius (VT)*, E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Scythopolis*, TU 49, no. 2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939), 236.1; for the dating, see Rina Avner, “The *Kathisma*: A Christian and Muslim Site,” *Aram* 19 (2007): 541–557; Avner, “The Initial Tradition of the *Theotokos* at the *Kathisma*: Earliest Celebrations and the Calendar,” in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and Mary B. Cunningham (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 9–30; and see earlier publications there. Compare Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled*, 117–141, who suggested that the church was built right after the council of Ephesus.

93. For the various traditions affiliated with the site, including those surrounding the Nativity of Christ, see n. 48 above.

94. Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled*, 141–167, 216–235, with extensive bibliography. For an overview of the Jerusalemite sites associated with Mary, see most recently, Ora Limor, “Mary in Jerusalem: An Imaginary Map,” in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt, CELAMA 18 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 11–22, with earlier bibliography.

selected for S. Stephen in Rome was at that time highly in fashion but tailored originally for the highest-ranking pilgrimage sites. Another relevant example of the use of this design is the octagon with ambulatory built over the house of Peter in Capernaum in the middle of the fifth century, which replaced an earlier *domus ecclesia*.⁹⁵ Thus, the plan of the building could bequeath a similar significance upon the first concentric church in Rome.

As distinctive as the plan seems in the context of the other Roman churches, the dimensions of the rotunda of S. Stephen and the architectural vocabulary used give the building an older appearance that matches the Roman architectural trend identified in S. Maria Maggiore. The architects used traditional forms to bestow antiquity, which imparted an air of authenticity to the site and to the relics (if indeed they were there). They used Ionic capitals and several second-century Corinthian capitals, simple entablature and marble pavements, as well as stucco cornices.⁹⁶ Thus, *if* there were relics of S. Stephen in Rome at the beginning of the second half of the fifth century, they found a home in a shrine that, at one and the same time, broadcasted both a special uniqueness and membership in a prestigious series of holy sites. S. Stefano Rotondo was as significant as the series of Constantinian ambulatory basilicae built over the martyrs' graves in Rome, or the pair of basilicae with transepts built over the tombs of Peter and Paul.

If the relics of Stephen were in Rome when the church was built, the construction would also signify a continuation and culmination of the collection of Jerusalemite relics that had found a home in the city, as discussed in chapter 1. Apart from the common geographical origin of the earliest and latest Jerusalemite relics brought here, there was an ideological connection, based on the New Testament narrative. The accusation against Stephen, "This man ceases not to speak words against the holy place and the law" (Acts 6:13), was answered by the accused in these words: "Yet the most High dwells not in houses made by hands, as the prophet says: Heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool. What house will you build me? says the Lord; or what is the place of my resting? Has

95. Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled*, 267–273; and see chapter 2, n. 128, on the innovative suggestion of Benjamin Y. Arubas and Rina Talgam, "Jews, Christians and 'Minim': Who Really Built and Used the Synagogue at Capernaum; A Stirring Appraisal," in *Knowledge and Wisdom: Archaeological and Historical Essays in Honour of Leah Di Segni*, ed. Giovanni C. Bottini, L. Daniel Chrupcala and Joseph Patrich (Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2014), 237–274, which seems finally to solve the complicated relationship between textual sources and material evidence regarding the synagogue and the house of Peter in Capernaum.

96. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, 52; Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, 107; cf. Brandenburg, "S. Stefano Rotondo: Der letzte Grossbau der Antike in Rom," 62–64; Brandenburg, *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen in Rom*, 227–231.

not my hand made all these things?” (Acts 7:48–50).⁹⁷ Thus, having at least two houses for Stephen in fifth-century Rome would have strengthened the message originally expressed by the Jerusalemite relics brought by Titus: Jerusalem no longer housed the Temple, and Rome was now to be seen as the superior *terra sancta*.

Returning now to Krautheimer’s *Borgo* and Sahner’s notion of “sacred landscape,” which both refer to the papal quarter stemming from S. Giovanni in Laterano, there is hardly a doubt that the architectural plan for S. Stefano Rotondo was meant to correspond to contemporary pilgrimage sites in Jerusalem, as well as to Constantinian mausolea in Jerusalem (Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre) and Rome (S. Costanza). Sahner noticed that in this specific quarter, stretching between the S. Stephano Rotondo, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Croce, and S. Giovanni, no local martyrs were venerated.⁹⁸ The churches were all connected with biblical events and people, proxies of Jerusalem. The construction of S. Stefano completed this Jerusalemite circuit, which began with the church built for the relic of the True Cross.

It seems that with the construction of S. Stefano Rotondo, Leo’s analogy and Damasus’s mission were both accomplished: Through its fifth-century construction and decorative programs, whether by way of the direct representation of Jerusalem in S. Pudenziana, the appropriation of the story of Mary evidenced in S. Maria Maggiore, or the reproduction of Jerusalem’s “sacred landscape” completed in S. Stefano Rotondo, Rome laid claim to Jerusalem, subsuming its holy scenes and sites into the Roman map of sacred memory. Thus, it sought to absorb and supersede Jerusalem’s holiness and become the undisputed capital of the Christian world.

97. For the possibility, based on Acts 6:1–6 and the terminology of his speech, that Stephen was a Jew from the diaspora, see Daniel R. Schwartz, “Humbly Second-Rate in the Diaspora? Philo and Stephen on the Tabernacle and the Temple,” in *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, 2 vols., ed. Ra’anan S. Boustan et al. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 1:81–89.

98. See above nn. 27–29; Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, 56–58; Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, 107–121; Sahner, “Hierusalem in Laterano,” in Lidov, *New Jerusalems*, 121.

Afterword

Bishop Leo III (795–816) endowed the papal oratory of St. Lawrence, within the Lateran palace complex, with a chest of cypress wood filled with sacred objects. As it turned out, the wooden container, recalling the Ark of the Covenant, became the foundation for an expanding pontifical collection of relics and liturgical implements. The oratory, in consequence, was known from the Middle Ages onward as the Palatine Chapel of Sancta Sanctorum.¹ The name lay claim to the Tabernacle as well as to the function and centrality of the inner sanctuary of the Jerusalem Temple; the keys to this sacred database of memories were in the high priest's (the bishop's) hands. Like the Temple implements, some of the relics and ritual vessels were handled and seen exclusively within the bishop's palace, except for a short time on specific festivals.

The label Sancta Sanctorum makes obvious the association of the Lateran complex with the biblical Tabernacle and the Temple in Jerusalem. Shortly before 1100, the connection between the Lateran and the Temple was made even more explicit. The *Descriptio Sanctuarii Sanctae Lateranensis Ecclesiae* reports that the Ark of the Covenant taken from the Temple after the destruction in 70

1. Bruno Galland, *Les authentiques de reliques du Sancta Sanctorum* (Vatican City: Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, 2004), with earlier bibliography; more recently, see Guido Cornini, "Non Est in Toto Sanctor Orbe Locus': Collecting Relics in Early Medieval Rome," in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Maria Bagnoli and Holger A. Klein (London: British Museum, 2011), 69–78; Julia Smith, "Care of Relics in Early Medieval Rome," in *Rome and Religion in the Medieval World*, ed. Valerie L. Garver and Owen M. Phelan (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014), 179–205. Most recently, Manfred Luchterhand, "The Popes and the *Loca Sancta* of Jerusalem: Relic Practice and Relic Diplomacy in the Eastern Mediterranean after the Muslim Conquest," in *Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500–1500*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Renana Bartal, and Neta Bodner (London: Routledge, 2017), 36–63.

CE was kept inside the wooden altar of the Lateran basilica.² According to this report, the Ark contained many sacred objects, including some of the Temple implements, seven candlesticks, the tablets of the Law, the rod of Moses, and the budding rod of Aaron.³ Bishop Bonizo of Sutri (1065–1094) mentions in his *Liber de vita christiana* (IV 98) that the wooden altar is said to have been the portable altar of St. Peter. Pope Silvester (314–335) is supposed to have himself installed the altar in the Lateran when he consecrated the basilica.⁴ The medieval Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela (1130–1173) reports that the Roman Jewish community believed that parts of the architectural elements of the Temple were actually in the Lateran.⁵

The objects and monuments within the Lateran enabled the making of such memories, whether for the Christians or the Jews. In the context of this book, the twelfth-century evocations of Jerusalem used the bridges created by the early Christian Church to construct a culture of memory based on the local imperial and Christian past of Rome, as well as the biblical past of Jerusalem.

Unlike these medieval references to Jerusalem, however, where the objects and monuments are escorted and supported by written sources, the fourth-century evocations of Jerusalem in Rome are mostly visual. As I have explained, by such evocations I do not necessarily mean monumental representations of Jerusalem; rather, I refer to compositions that were formulated while “thinking Jerusalem.” Nor do I mean here the heavenly Jerusalem (although this played a significant role in both written and visual sources); I refer to the earthly

2. Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, eds., *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, 4 vols. (Rome: Tipografica del Senato, 1940–53), 3:336; Sible de Blaauw, “The Solitary Celebration of the Supreme Pontiff: The Lateran Basilica as the New Temple in the Medieval Liturgy of Maundy Thursday,” in *Omnes Circumstantes: Contributions towards a History of the People in the Liturgy Presented to Hermann Wegman on his Retirement*, ed. Charles Caspers and Marc Schneiders (Kampen: Kok, 1990), 120–143; Ingo Herklotz, *Gli eredi di Costantino: Il papato, il Laterano e la propaganda visive nel XII secolo* (Rome: Viella, 2000). For the point of view of the Jewish community in Rome, see Marie Thérèse Champagne and Ra’anan S. Boustán, “Walking in the Shadows of the Past: The Jewish Experience of Rome in the Twelfth Century,” *Medieval Encounters* 17 (2011): 464–494.

3. Cf. Exodus 25:16, for the deposition of historical evidence inside the ark; Exodus 17:25, for the deposition of the rod of Aaron; and Deuteronomy 10:5 and 1 Kings 8:9, for the deposition of the tablets of the Law. For doubts about the exact disposition of the relics, see Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice topografico*, 3:336–337; de Blaauw, “Solitary Celebration,” 126.

4. Ernst Perels, ed., *Bonizo: Liber de vita Christiana*, Texte zur Geschichte des römischen und kanonischen Rechts im Mittelalter 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1930; 2d ed., 1998), 164–165 1998; after de Blaauw, “Solitary Celebration,” 128.

5. “There are in the church of St John in the Lateran two bronze columns, which had been in the Temple from among the handiwork of King Solomon, peace be upon him; and on both is carved ‘Solomon son of David.’ The Jews in Rome reported (to me) that every year on the Ninth of Av they found sweat running down them like water.” English translation in Champagne and Boustán, “Walking in the Shadows of the Past,” 477; adapting Marcus N. Adler, ed. and trans., *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Travels in the Middle Ages* (London: H. Frowde, 1907).

Jerusalem and the ways it stimulated the formation of local Roman Christian memory.

By virtue of its holy sites, earthly Jerusalem contained both the biblical past and contemporary Christian constructions. One might have expected, accordingly, that in any contest between Jerusalem and Rome concerning sanctity, insofar as this sanctity was bound up with topography and the mythical past embodied thereby, Jerusalem's superiority would be a foregone conclusion. After all, Christ never set foot in Rome. Rome, however, found ways to build on its possession of the tombs of Peter and Paul, as well as the presence of the Temple spoils and the relics of the True Cross—a perfect combination that allowed it to be a strong contestant for primacy in the Christian world. Moreover, this fusion in Rome of the Old and the New Jerusalem also served as a magnet for additional relics and foundational traditions, which would become, in their turn, the basis for constructing local memories.

Is it possible to discern the appropriation of memory without a declaration of intent? As always, the answer depends on the nature of the evidence that is taken into consideration. In this presentation, I have given weight to the accumulated visual assemblage, suggesting that even when there is a textual void with regard to earthly Jerusalem, art and architecture repeatedly show that there is more *that* meets the eye. In the attempt to bolster the authority of Rome in the Christianizing world, the Roman inclination toward the source—that is, the holy city in the east—is visually present even if it is not verbally proclaimed.

The cumulative visual evidence, which encompasses innovative compositions in a variety of media, shows that Rome's keys to heaven are rendered in relation to the *loca sancta* in Palestine. From the translation of the Temple spoils to Rome in the first century, until the translation of the relics of St. Stephen in the fifth or sixth, Jerusalem and its biblical holy sites remained in the purview of those who constructed Christian Rome. The Roman narrative was (and is) composed, affixed, painted, carved, and constructed through an ongoing local perspective on, and preoccupation with, Jerusalem; and this outlook, as I have attempted to present in this volume, was neither rare nor singular, but pervasive and multifaceted.

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